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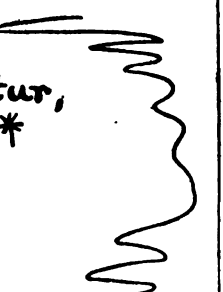

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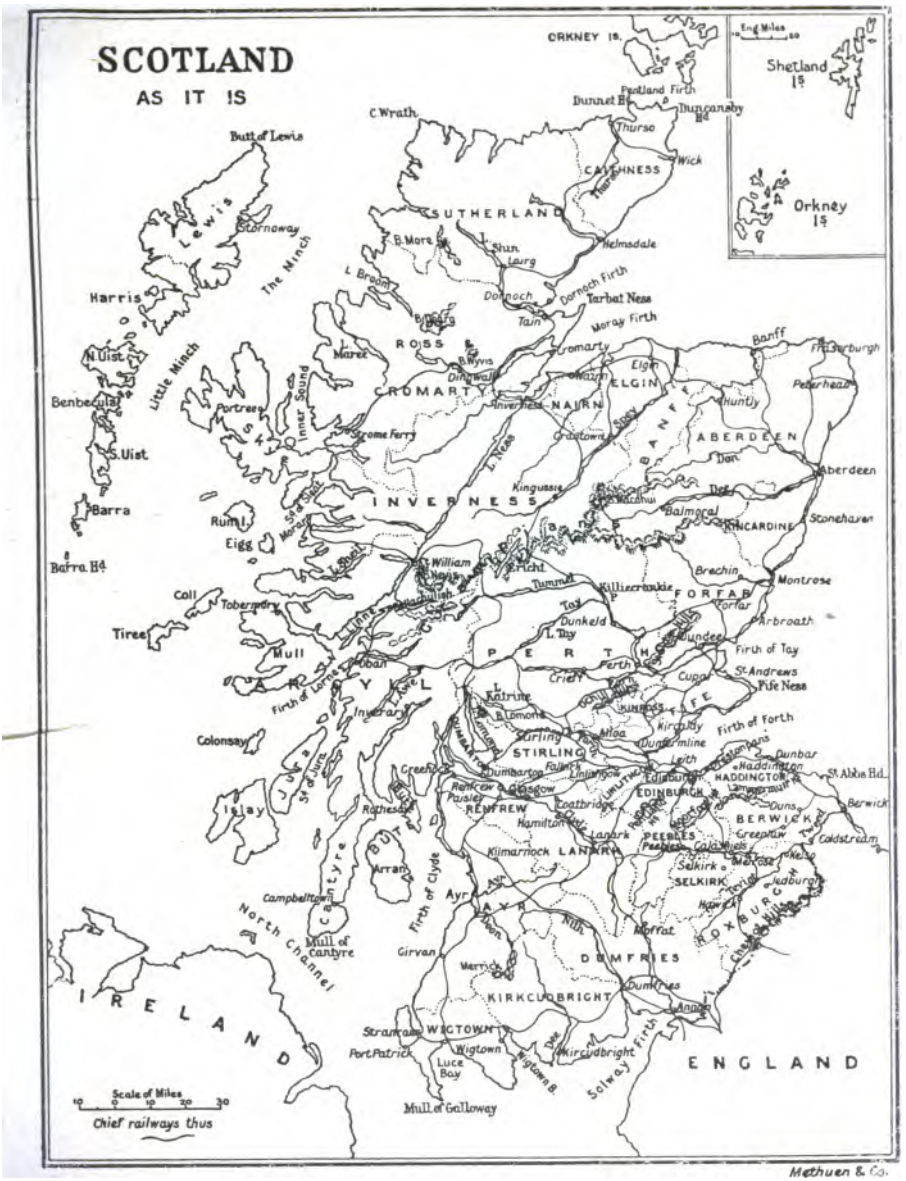
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Banff
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Little Minch
L. Maree
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Dunnottar
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Barra Hd
Brechin
Montrose
Coll
Tobermory
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FORFAR
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Fife Ness
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STIRLING
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A STUDENT'S HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

BY

DAVID WATSON RANNIE, M.A.

ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD

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PREFACE

THE aim of this book is to provide young students, and especially those who already know the elements of English history, with a trustworthy sketch of the main features of the history of Scotland. The aim has been made from one definite point of view—namely, the relations between Scotland and England. Whether those relations take the form of contrast, of hostility, or of attraction leading at last to union, they are, I think, what the beginner ought to have constantly in his mind. He ought to learn at the outset of his studies that Britain has been the scene of two kindred developments, one in the South and another in the North.

"Like, but oh, how different!"

He ought to study the two developments in immediate succession, and his historical curiosity ought to be allowed to know no satisfaction until he sees, as the outcome of the two processes, a political unity securely formed.

In spite of the laborious and fruitful work of eminent historians, from Tytler and Hill Burton to Dr Hume Brown and Mr Andrew Lang, I doubt whether Scottish history is often, if ever, taught in this way. For such an omission many reasons might be suggested, but two only need be noticed here. One is the enormous vogue of the story of Mary Stewart, the other is the peculiar character of Scottish Protestantism.

Gift G. F. Black, 24 Feb. 1930

The fact that Scottish history is the plain setting of that precious romancist's jewel, the tragedy of Mary the Queen, has been fatal to the sense of proportion without which history can be neither properly learned nor properly taught. To the romancist and the poet the affairs of Queen Mary are of inexhaustible importance; to the serious student of Scottish history as a whole—as a chapter of British and world politics—most of them are barely relevant; and all of them put together are of strictly subordinate importance. Yet in this matter the romancist and the poet have been allowed to dictate to the historical student.

The other stumbling-block is Scottish Protestantism. The history of the Scottish Church has been such as to rouse in partisans of that Church an uncritical admiration neither more nor less unfavourable to the student's purposes than the amused and uninstructed indifference of the outsider's estimate of that history. Many and many a good Presbyterian has amply made up for the loss of belief in the infallibility of Church and Pope by a belief in the infallibility of Calvin and Knox and the Covenanters. Many and many a devout Anglican is content to believe that the phenomena of Scottish Protestantism, when they are not wholly incomprehensible, are a kind of comic display, for the most part rather profane, dull when they are not ridiculous, and repulsive when they do not send one to sleep. The result of this combined romance and partisanship has been to obscure that which the student should feel as the main interest of Scottish history.

In the following pages I have tried to avoid both the great stumbling-blocks. I have tried to say no more about Queen Mary than was strictly necessary for my main purpose. And I have tried to treat Scottish Protestantism

as one of the most remarkable and powerful manifestations of that multiform and paradoxical force, the Christian spirit, and as one of the chief builders of a great nationality.

For the rest, I have tried to exercise as well as I could a principle of selection, so that, if possible, the student's mind should, at this early stage of his investigations, be occupied only with *cardinal* events and dates.

It will, of course, be understood that my point of view throughout the book has obliged me to end the story in 1746, when the Union of Scotland and England was at last made finally secure.

I have to express my gratitude to Mr R. S. RAIT, Fellow of New College, Oxford, who has most kindly read through the proof-sheets, and helped me by many corrections and suggestions. While I am much indebted to secondary authorities, I have striven to tell my story from original sources, and to these the student must make his appeal.

OXFORD, 1904

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A STUDENT'S HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

CHAPTER I

SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHY

IN the case of all lands their geography has much to do with their history, and this is especially true of countries in whose geography the sea or the mountains, or both the sea and the mountains, play an important part.

The northern part of the island of Britain, the land called Scotland, has just the kind of geography which is important in history. It is almost an island itself: its only land frontier, dividing it from England, and running north-north-east from Gretna Green to Berwick-on-Tweed, is only 75 miles long. On all other sides its frontier is the sea. The North Sea washes its eastern side from Berwick-on-Tweed to Duncansby Head; the Solway Firth, which is an inlet of the Irish Sea, and the Irish Sea itself, wash its short southern coast from Gretna to the Mull of Galloway; its long and broken western side, from the Mull of Galloway to Cape Wrath, fronts the open Atlantic, except where Ireland and some large islands narrow the waters into the North Channel, the Firth of Clyde, and the Minch; its northern side, from Cape Wrath to Duncansby Head, of about the same length as the southern, also fronts the Atlantic, except where the near proximity of the Orkney Islands forms a strait called the Pentland Firth, leading from the Atlantic to the North Sea.

In so far as Scotland is a peninsula with a small land

attachment, its geography closely resembles that of England. But there is one great difference between the two countries. Except the Isle of Man, the Isle of Anglesea, and the Isle of Wight there are no islands of any importance off the English coast, nor are there any very long arms of the sea stretching into England on any side except the Bristol Channel. But off the western or Atlantic coast of Scotland there are many large and important islands; some at a considerable distance from the mainland, forming a large group called the Hebrides; others, such as Skye, Mull, Islay, and Jura, being of much geographical importance. Again, off the north-east of Scotland, separated only by the Pentland Firth, lies the group of the Orkney Islands; and beyond them, still farther to the north-east, lies the remote Shetland group, which seems to carry the sound of British history and civilisation far towards the Arctic wastes.

A glance at the map of Scotland will show that most of these islands are so placed as to create many arms of the sea, variously called "firths," "sounds," and "lochs." In addition to the islands proper there is a very long peninsula on the west coast of Scotland, the southern part of which is called Kintyre, which in recent times has been made into an island by the construction of the Crinan Canal. The southern extremity of this peninsula, called the Mull of Kintyre, is only 13 miles from Fair Head in Ireland, and is the nearest piece of British soil to the Irish coast.

Off the east coast of Scotland there are no islands of any importance, and none of the wonderful sounds and sea lochs of the western coast. But there are three remarkable inlets of the North Sea (which may also be regarded as the mouths of rivers)—the Firth of Forth, the Firth of Tay, and the Moray Firth. The Firths of Forth and Tay extend so far inland as to make a kind of peninsula of the land between them—the county of Fife. So much for the part played by the sea in Scottish geography.

The part played by mountains is quite as great. The highest mountains to be found in Britain are in Scotland; and, besides, there are ranges and uplands in various parts which make the country as a whole very hilly, and even mountainous, in proportion to its size. The highest hills form a backbone or watershed, or, more strictly, two backbones at right angles to one another, extending across the middle of Scotland from south-west to north-east. These ranges are loosely called the Grampians; but that one which runs north and south used to be called Drumalban; while the other, running east and west, was known as the Mounth. They contain the highest summits in Scotland and Britain—Ben Nevis, Ben Macdhui, Cairn Gorm, and many others. South-east and east from the great watersheds flow these broad and famous streams—the Forth and the Tay, as well as these less famous ones—the North and South Esk, the Dee and the Don. From their northern side the mountains send down the Spey and the Findhorn, with other less important rivers. Westward of the main range, as one approaches the coast with its islands and sounds, one is still among the mountains: one has only to notice the dark shading on the map to see how mountainous is the whole west side of Scotland, with its islands, from the Mull of Kintyre to Cape Wrath.

In the southern half of Scotland also there are many ranges of hills, though few of the hills are nearly as high as the mountains north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, which are often called the Highlands. The "Southern Uplands," as they are sometimes called to distinguish them from the Highlands, are much broken up by valleys, many of which are very beautiful, and they are thus less of a backbone or screen than the Grampians. They send two famous streams north-west and north-east from their northern slopes—the Clyde, on which is built the great trading city of Glasgow, and the Tweed, which, during the last part of its course, forms the boundary between

England and Scotland. The rivers which flow into the Atlantic, the Irish Sea, and the Solway from the southern face of the uplands are less famous, perhaps, and less important; but many of them, such as the Liddel, the Esk, the Annan, the Nith, and the Dee of Galloway pass through delightful scenery and have been commemorated by poets and lovers of beautiful things.

Between the Highlands and the Southern Uplands lie what may be called the midlands of Scotland. It is, however, rather misleading to call them so; they are rather a great tract of fertile country stretching along the shores of the North Sea from Berwick-on-Tweed to Peterhead, taking in, south of the Forth, the counties of East Lothian, Mid-Lothian, Linlithgow, and part of Stirling, Lanark, and Renfrew. North of the Forth this rich tract reaches to the base of the great Grampian screen and stretches north-eastward through Fife, eastern Perthshire, Forfar, Kincardine, and eastern Aberdeenshire. It continues westward through Banff, Elgin, Nairn, and eastern Ross-shire up to the base of the great mountains north-east of the island of Skye.

Historians will always take most interest in that part of Scotland which lies in the middle of the country, and especially in the valley of the Forth from the mountains about Loch Lomond to the sea. In that valley lie very important places, of which we shall often have to read and think—Stirling, Falkirk, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh are there, while slightly south-west lies Glasgow. Very important also in this midland region is the lower valley of the Tay, with the famous towns of Perth and Dundee; while the county of Fife will always be famous because of the wonderful old town of St Andrews, which, looking out over the stormy waters of the wild North Sea, is rich in historic memories. The many valleys of the Southern Uplands stretching northward from the border or frontier of Scotland and England come next in importance. With

the line of the frontier itself, in which lies the mountain range of the Cheviots, they make up the region known both to history and to song as "The Borders"—words which poetry, heroism, and cruelty have made both beautiful and terrible. The peninsulas, islands, and inlets of the west, and the Orkneys and Shetlands to the north-east, have also played important parts in Scottish history at many critical times.

If we ask ourselves what has been, on the whole, the most important geographical feature in the history of Scotland, we shall have to answer, I think, that it is the great contrast between the north-western and the south-eastern portions (roughly speaking halves) of the country. It is not properly a contrast between mountain and plain, for in the south-eastern half, as we have seen, there are the Southern Uplands and the Cheviots, and even in parts of Perthshire, Forfarshire, and Stirlingshire, which are not in the Highlands proper, there are ranges of hills (chiefly of volcanic origin), such as the Ochils and the Sidlaws. Yet from a geographical point of view nothing could be more striking than the difference in climate, in soil, in fertility, in influence on the imagination between East Lothian, Fife, eastern Perthshire on the one hand, and Argyleshire, or western Ross-shire, on the other. And much more marked, and much more striking, is the contrast between regions less widely separated than these—between the part of eastern Ross-shire bordering on the Moray Firth, for example, and the region lying just westward from it. This great division of Highlands and Lowlands (for that is how the contrast is generally expressed) has had in more ways than one a very great deal to do with the making of Scottish history. For one thing, it has kept alive and active through the whole of the history of the country the difference between the Highlanders and the Lowlanders—a difference showing itself in appearance, in language, in fashion of dress, in national character, in

institutions, in frequent hostilities. There seems, in fact, to have been two races, in many respects of equal importance, engaged in the making of Scottish history; one race for the most part keeping to the north-western half of Scotland, behind the mountain screen of the Grampians and among the peninsulas and islands of the west coast; the other spreading itself over the fertile and open lands of the south-eastern half. What facts of race-history lie behind those appearances is still matter of controversy.

The most important of all the facts of Scottish history has to do with this contrast. One of the driest and most fertile parts of the dry and fertile south-eastern half of Scotland consists of eastern Roxburghshire, Berwickshire, East Lothian, and Mid-Lothian. It is bounded on the north by the Firth of Forth, and at its northern extremity stands the city of Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, looking down from her noble heights on the blue waters of the great Firth and across them to the distant Grampians.

Now this part of Scotland lies north and west of the English county of Northumberland; much of it is very like Northumberland; and the English frontier at Berwick-on-Tweed is, as the crow flies, only 60 miles from the capital of Scotland. The most important fact of Scottish history is that this part of Scotland was for a long time part of England (to which it is so near even now) and that Edinburgh was an English town. Wherein the great importance of this fact consists (for it would be easy to misunderstand it) we shall find out by-and-by. Meanwhile it is enough to remember when we look at the map of Scotland that out of these rich and rather tame lands stretching from the Cheviots to Edinburgh, and not from the grander and more exciting lands to the north and west, what is strongest and most enduring in Scottish history has come, as a river comes from its source in the hills.

If the greatest issues of Scottish history are connected with the gentle south-east, one great issue was decided among the wild seaward lands of the west and north. For many a long year it seemed as if those regions were to be first Irish and then Scandinavian. Very early it was decided that they were not to be Irish, though Irish settlers at one time crowded into Argyleshire and set up a kingdom there. But it took hundreds of years and many critical fights to get the power of the Scandinavian Northmen driven out of the Hebrides, the Orkneys, and Shetlands, and even the counties of Caithness and Sutherland. Until those things came about, Scotland, as we now know it, was not fully born.

CHAPTER II

THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH HISTORY

IT is not always very wise to dwell on the resemblances or contrasts between the histories of different countries. Each country, each state, has its own history to make, its own problems to solve: and each state has what we may call an individuality, which we best learn to understand by not distracting ourselves too much with thoughts about the individuality of other states.

But, while this general rule is true and important, there are exceptions to it; and the histories of England and Scotland are one of these. To begin with, the countries lie so close together that one cannot help comparing their histories and noting the differences between them. Again, in both countries the influence of *invaders* (*i.e.* of peoples who have arrived in the countries within historic times) has been very important, and it is most interesting and instructive to observe the different effects of the invasions. In England the invasions of the Jutes, the Saxons, and the Angles gradually overspread much the greatest part of South Britain, and made the land England. In Scotland, the final name of the country, its early religion and a good deal of its political power were given by invaders from Ireland; while its language, its predominant type of character, its most lasting form of religion down to the sixteenth century, and its predominant civilisation were, with its capital city, results of the English invasion of South Britain. The predominance of English (or, perhaps, we ought rather to say Teutonic) civilisation both in Scotland

and England makes it natural to compare the forms taken by that civilisation in the two lands.

Another reason for dwelling on the differences between Scottish and English history is the width of those differences and the consequent sharpness of the contrasts between them. When they have differed the two lands have differed so greatly that their histories throw each other into a strong relief from which we learn a great deal.

And, lastly, the success and permanence with which England and Scotland have been united without the loss by either country of any of its strongest features make it a very profitable task to inquire why two lands, geographically one, and always with so much in common, had to pass through so many centuries of alienation and so much fierce and bitter strife, again and again renewed, before their union could be accomplished.

The differences between Scottish and English history will come into view as we go on with our story, but it will be useful to realise some of the chief ones before proceeding further.

(1) In both England and Scotland there has always been a Celtic element, but in Scotland the Celtic element has been much more influential than in England. In South Britain the Celtic population has been for the most part confined to Wales, and neither before nor since the English conquest of Wales did it contribute much to English history, while it never contributed anything to English institutions. In Scotland it has been far otherwise. There the Celtic population was spread over a much larger proportional area than in South Britain. The relations of the Celtic and Teutonic inhabitants make up a considerable part of Scottish history, and Celtic institutions have much to do with Scotland's past. Just as, when we call up the thought of Scotland as a whole, Highlanders with their unusual costume, their strange speech, and the halo of romance which surrounds them are sure to come

up with it, so when we read the history of Scotland we find it permeated through and through with influences for which those Highlanders, those Celts of the mountains and the islands, are responsible.

(2) Another great difference is that in England the power of kings has, on the whole, been strong; while in Scotland, during the centuries before she began to have the same kings as England, it has, on the whole, been weak. It is necessary to say "on the whole" in both cases; some English kings have been very weak and some Scottish kings have been very strong. Still, from the time of the first English invasion down to about 200 years ago, very much of the hardest and best work has been done for England and English well-being and progress by kings, such as (to mention only the most famous) Alfred and William the Conqueror, Henry II., Henry V., Henry VIII., Elizabeth (England's king-like queen), and William III. But from Scottish history no such list of great royal statesmen can be collected. On the contrary, we see the Scottish crown resting for the most part on the heads of men weak, base, or unfortunate, unable to sustain that proud independence which has always made up so much of the strength of England, unable to overcome conspiracies among their subjects, distracted by England and by more distant foreign powers, seeming at times to be pursued through generations by an unhappy fate.

(3) Intimately connected with the weakness of Scottish kingship is the great power for evil of the Scottish nobles; and this makes a third important difference between Scottish and English history. Nothing is more striking in English history than the smallness of the evil wrought by the great men of the land—the feudal baronage as they are often collectively called. On the continent of Europe, and especially in France and Germany (very much as in Scotland), there have been long periods of time when kings have been weak and power has been wielded by

strong and selfish nobles. Whatever advantages this state of things may be shown to have had it had at least two unquestionable disadvantages: it hindered national unity, and it favoured the oppression of the lower orders of society. Nobles with great power are sure to quarrel selfishly with one another unless there is a strong king to keep them in check, and they are also sure to do all they can to prevent either labourers or small traders from gaining freedom or profit.

Now while England had a feudal baronage during the greater part of her history it was very seldom that it was independent enough to bring on the land the curse of civil war or hinder its real unity. For in the earlier times strong kings arose at critical moments and brought down the power of the baronage; and then in later times a powerful middle class (as it is called) grew up and acted as a kind of buffer between the labouring class and the baronage; while Parliament, meanwhile, made laws before which all men were equal.

But poor Scotland fared with the Continent in this respect rather than with England. Like all mediæval lands she had a feudal baronage; but, as we have seen, she had, on the whole, weak kings, and therefore her nobles strove with each other instead of holding, or being held together, to make one people. Again, the Scottish middle class came into existence later than the English one, and so centuries of Scottish history are a dreary record of aimless civil war and brutal oppression, while in England such things were hardly known.

(4) I have said that the power of Parliament in England had much to do with the way in which the feudal lords were kept in check there. That brings out a fourth important difference between Scotland and England. In Scotland the Parliament, the national assembly of the land, never was as strong as it was in England. In no country in the world, indeed, has there been so strong

and satisfactory a Parliament as in England. In no other national assembly has the representation of all classes of the people been, on the whole, so complete and so well balanced; nowhere else have king and Parliament been oftener on harmonious and mutually helpful terms; nowhere else has the national assembly gained so much power with so little revolutionary disturbance. In Scotland the national assembly missed those great advantages. It did not grow, as the English Parliament grew, out of early popular institutions; hardly any Scottish kings took in hand to mould and to guide it; it never represented, or tried to represent, all classes of the people in a way fair to each of them; it fell again and again under the power of the great lords instead of keeping it in check. And so, when it came to an end in 1707, no one had any reason to feel that Scotland had lost a great institution, as all intelligent people would have felt if her system of law or her national religion had been similarly wiped out.

(5) The only other outstanding difference between Scotland and England which I will mention here is by no means the least in importance. Scottish history has been very much more influenced by the Continent than that of England. No characteristic of England is more striking than what is often called her "insularity," her sturdy independence. She has, of course, got much general and indirect influence from foreign nations and civilisations, but no outside power or institution, and no foreign alliance, has made, so to say, a vital mark upon her. The only nations who have come near doing so are the Scandinavians and those Frenchified Scandinavians, the Normans. But though it is quite correct to speak of Scandinavian conquest *in* England and of a Norman conquest *of* England it would be quite wrong to think that those conquests changed the current of English history or destroyed English independence. In both cases England showed a wonderful power of absorbing her

conquerors, of taking them and their institutions into herself, and yet remaining herself all the while. And no other foreign connection, neither that long and curious one with France (which was an indirect result of the Norman Conquest) nor that with Rome involved in her loyalty to the Latin Church down to the sixteenth century, even touched the independence and self-sufficing completeness of England.

But while, geographically speaking, Scotland shared England's insularity, she by no means shared that independence of foreign influence and alliance to which the word is often made to refer. In the first place, Scotland was nearly always entangled in some way with England; England was always trying to acquire or to maintain superiority over her smaller northern neighbour; and Scotland was generally engaged either in submitting to England's claims or in more or less successfully resisting them.

Then, again, there was a connection, an alliance, between Scotland and France which lasted for 300 years and of which it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance. What led to it was the great Hundred Years' War between England and France in the fourteenth century. Scotland and England were bitterly hostile at that time, and so it was natural that Scotland should ally herself with France. The two enemies of England became firm friends, and their friendship lasted, with much coming and going between the countries and much exchange of influences, until in the sixteenth century, religion broke the alliance and brought England and Scotland together. France was a much greater, richer, and more civilised country than Scotland, and therefore Scotland got more from France than she could give to her. She got not only political help from time to time but French words into her language, French names for her officials, and even central institutions closely imitated from French models.

But the most important of all the foreign influences which moulded Scotland was the influence of the republic of Geneva, now part of Switzerland. In the sixteenth century this famous town was the sphere of John Calvin, one of the greatest theologians and ecclesiastics whom the world has known. Calvin not only wrote out theological doctrines, which the great majority of Scotsmen accepted as true, but he devised an ecclesiastical system which, in essentials, Scotland made her own after she broke off from the Roman Catholic Church. Calvinism and Presbyterianism have done very much, perhaps more than anything else, to mould Scotland; and that makes a deep gulf between her past and that of England. Both Calvinism and Presbyterianism, it is true, took root in England; but their hold was slight, and they never became *national*. The English Church when it separated from Rome kept the government by bishops, which the Scottish followers of Calvin came to think quite sinful; and the theology of the leading English divines does not agree with the doctrines written out by Calvin. It is interesting to remember that Calvin, the great theologian and ecclesiastic of Geneva, was by birth a Frenchman, so we may if we like regard Scotland's reformed religion as part of her debt to France.

Keeping these peculiarities of Scotland in mind let us begin the story of her life.

CHAPTER III

RACES IN NORTH BRITAIN AND THE EARLY KINGDOMS 500-1034

SCOTLAND and England are alike in this, that in each country one state was at last formed out of several separate powers after long struggles and rivalries among them. The English invaders began to set up kingdoms in Britain in the middle of the fifth century A.D., but not until the middle of the tenth century—*i.e.* 500 years later—was there one kingdom of the English. Similarly in Scotland there were kingdoms of which we can record the beginnings as early as the sixth century A.D., but there was not one kingdom of Scotland until nearly the middle of the eleventh century. In this chapter we shall record the events by which the one *Regnum Scotiæ* of 1034 grew out of the wars and conquest among the kingdoms and other powers which preceded it, and we shall take special note of the varying relations (often very hard to understand but always very important) between those powers and the kings of the English.

The first question to ask and answer about every country is: To what race or races did its inhabitants belong when we first have a trustworthy account of them? More particularly we ask: Were they Semitic (Jews, Arabs, and others), Aryan (Celts, Teutons, Slavs, and others), or non-Aryan (Magyars, Basques, Finns, and others)? Now as regards the aboriginal inhabitants of Scotland—*i.e.* the race dwelling in it when trustworthy accounts of it begin—we may be nearly, though not quite certain that they belonged to the Celtic division of the Aryan race and were the people afterwards known as Picts. I say we cannot be quite cer-

tain of this, because, while most scholars believe that the Picts were Celts, at least one scholar of eminence has held that they were a non-Aryan people. But, always bearing in mind this difference of opinion as to the Picts, we may for the present assume that at the dawn of authentic history Scotland, like the rest of Britain and like Ireland, was inhabited by Celts, themselves invaders at some unrecorded period who had dispossessed previous dwellers in the land.

But if all the early inhabitants of North Britain were Celts they were Celts of two different branches, speaking different dialects, and keeping up their differences for centuries. One branch was known as *Gaelic* or *Goidelic*: to this branch belonged the Picts of the greater part of Scotland, perhaps we may say of the whole of Scotland, except the middle part of its southern half. To the same branch belonged the Celts of Ireland and the Isle of Man and of some parts of England. The other branch was known as *Brython* or *Breta*: to this branch belonged some dwellers in the southern half of Scotland, who thus claim kindred with the inhabitants of Brittany and of Wales, and whose name survives in the words *Britain* and *British*.

Before we can follow the fortunes of the Picts and Britons in Scotland, before we can watch the kingdom they founded and the invaders—Irish, Scandinavian, and English—who came into their land, we must look for a moment at a struggle they had with the great world power of the Romans, who (one must never forget) ruled Southern Britain firmly for more than 400 years. We need not look very long, for the Romans never conquered the whole of Scotland, and they left few and somewhat doubtful traces on its soil.

Between 55 B.C. and 78 A.D. the Romans gradually conquered South Britain and made it into what they called a *province* of the empire, while the unconquered Celts of the north, whom the Romans seem to have called collectively

Caledonians, held a threatening position beyond the Roman limits.

In 78 A.D. a famous Roman called Julius Agricola arrived to govern the province of Britain. He was not only a great soldier but was lucky enough to have the great historian Tacitus for his son-in-law. Tacitus wrote his father-in-law's life and described his governorship of Britain. From his book we learn that Agricola tried successfully to advance the limits of the Roman province of Britain far beyond the line at which he found them. What that line was we cannot, perhaps, be quite sure, but there is good reason for thinking that it was nearly the same as the present boundary line between England and Scotland. Agricola began his advance in 80 A.D., and he seems to have made an annual expedition northwards until he was recalled to Rome in 84. During those expeditions, besides many explorations inland and round the coasts, Agricola did two things—he built a chain of forts between the Forth and the Clyde, and he won a great battle, called "Mons Graupius" (probably a height of eastern Perthshire or Forfarshire), in which there was a vast slaughter of the Northerners. Neither of those achievements, however, really planted the Roman power in what we now call Scotland.

Instead of being moved northwards the boundary was more firmly fixed than ever by Hadrian's Wall, built in 120, between the Solway Firth and the mouth of the Tyne. Some twenty years later Caledonian restlessness beyond Hadrian's Wall led to the building of a rampart along the line of Agricola's forts between Clyde and Forth—the so-called "wall of Antoninus Pius"; but over this wall the Caledonians and others again and again broke and rushed southwards. The Roman Emperor Septimius Severus, who died at York in 211, spent several of the last years of his life in attempts to conquer North Britain. In the course of those efforts he got as far as the Moray Firth, but he

made no permanent conquest, and Hadrian's Wall remained the effective northern boundary of the Roman province of Britain. Once, indeed, a little past the middle of the fourth century, a Roman general, Theodosius the elder, after a very hard-won victory, repaired the boundary between Clyde and Forth; but within half-a-century, in 410, the Romans left Britain to her fate.

It used to be believed that the Romans in the course of their conquests and settlements to the north of the Solway had made a mark on the land, of which abundant traces were still to be found. Archæologists are much more doubtful of this than they used to be; and we at least may now dismiss all thought of the Romans and go on with the story of the Picts and Britons and the kingdoms they set up in the land of the Caledonians, showing how they were acted upon by the invaders from Ireland, Scandinavia, and the Continental homes of the English.

We have made up our minds to believe that, before either English or Irish appeared in North Britain, two races of Celtic origin were settled there—the Picts and the Britons. But we know hardly anything definite about them for more than 100 years after the Romans left Britain; and, when we do begin to see them clearly, the Irish and the English are settled beside them; and there are four kingdoms in the land we now call Scotland.

(1) The kingdom of the Picts, or Pictland, was by far the largest, and occupied the greater part of North Britain. It reached from the Firth of Forth on the south to John o' Groat's and Cape Wrath on the north, and at one time included the Orkney Islands as well. Its western boundary was not so simple. It took in the great island of Skye and the western coast-line as far as the southern limit of the present county of Inverness, including the island of Mull. Though it had both geographical and provincial divisions it seems to have been one kingdom under one king.

(2) The kingdom of the Britons, unlike Pictland, did not

lie wholly within the limits of the present Scotland. It was, in fact, but the northern part—reaching to what is now the rock and town of Dumbarton on the Clyde—of the territory of those Briton Celts who were driven before the Teutonic invaders of England to the west of the island, from Cornwall northwards. To different parts of this long strip of territory various local names were loosely applied—such as West Wales (Cornwall), South Wales, North Wales, Cumbria, Strathclyde. The continuity of the whole territory was finally broken by two great Teutonic victories: the West-Saxon King Ceawlin's at Deorham in 577, and the Northumbrian King Æthelfrith's at Chester in 613. The part north of Wales was finally cut off from Wales itself, and came to be known sometimes as Cumbria or Cumberland, sometimes as Strathclyde. Its southern boundary is uncertain; it may have moved from the line of the Ribble about 613 to the line of the Derwent in Cumberland later in the century. In the middle of the sixth century its capital was at Carlisle, but before the end of that century it was set up at Alcluyd—*i.e.* Dumbarton—and the kings were called kings of Alcluyd. North of Solway it took in of existing Scottish counties Dumfries, Ayr, Lanark, Renfrew, and Peebles, with the territory of Dumbarton town. Of these first two of the four kingdoms, Pictland and Alcluyd or Strathclyde, no man knows the beginnings.

(3) The beginnings of the other two we know. First we will tell of the kingdom that was set up in the south-east, side by side with Strathclyde. Like Strathclyde, it stretched far to the south of the present boundary of Scotland; unlike Strathclyde, it was a Teutonic and English kingdom. Between 500 and 547 the Angles, who conquered and colonised so much of eastern England, conquered and colonised also to the north and west of the Cheviots and the Tweed; and in 549 there was a kingdom of Bernicia, ruled by King Ida, stretching from the Tees to the Firth of

Forth, with the fortress on the rock of Bamborough for its capital. On the west Ettrick Forest divided this land of Bernicia from Strathclyde. The northern or, as we should now say, Scottish part of Bernicia came to be known as Lothian. It took in the present counties of Roxburgh, Selkirk, Berwick, Haddington (or East Lothian), and part at least of what is now the county of Edinburgh, or Mid-Lothian. Not only was Lothian a part of Bernicia, but Bernicia itself was afterwards joined on to a kingdom of Deira, reaching from the Tees to the Humber, and both together formed a large kingdom of Northumbria, though their union was always apt to be broken. It was a great event in the history of Northumbria, Bernicia, and Lothian, as well as for the future history of Scotland, when (if tradition speaks true) the Northumbrian King Eadwine, about 100 years after King Ida set up his capital at Bamborough, fortified the rock of Eadwine's burgh, or Edinburgh, on the southern shore of the Firth of Forth. Through this third of the four kingdoms on Scottish soil, this Teutonic and English land of Lothian, came, as we said before, "what is strongest and most enduring in Scottish history."

(4) The last of the four kingdoms is in some ways the most interesting of them. It resembled Pictland and Strathclyde in being Celtic, but it resembled Lothian in being formed by invaders who came into Britain after the Romans left it. Lothian was founded by English from the Continent; the fourth North British kingdom, known as Dalriada, was founded by Scots from Ireland. It is curious to think that the original Scotia was Ireland, and that Scotland borrows its own name from Ireland, and the name of its capital from England. The Irish colony which grew into the kingdom of Dalriada was founded by three brothers, Fergus Mor the son of Erc, Loarn, and Angus, who crossed from Ireland about 500 A.D. and settled themselves side by side with the inhabitants of Pictland and Strathclyde. The territory of Dalriada included,

roughly speaking, the present county of Argyle, taking in the great islands of Jura and Islay and the great peninsula of Kintyre. Its capital was the fortress of Dunadd, at the head of Loch Crinan, where the Crinan Canal now takes the tourist from the sound of Jura to Loch Fyne. It was divided from the strong kingdom of the Picts by the mountain range of Drumalban, the great watershed running north and east which makes so splendid a boundary to the rich lands of Perth and Stirling. The kingdom of Dalriada having been originally founded by a group of brothers remained for a long time very loosely knit and in great danger from its Pictish neighbours.

If now we look at the map of Scotland we shall see that this fourfold picture of Pictland, Strathclyde, Lothian, and Dalriada does not quite account for the whole of the map. It leaves out the present "stewartry" (as it is called) of Kirkcudbright and the county of Wigtown in the south-west, and it also leaves out the present county of Linlithgow and part of Stirlingshire. Wigtown and Kirkcudbright made up an outlying Celtic district called Galloway, a name still in use; while on the southern shore of the Firth of Forth, to the westward of Edinburgh, there lay two districts, of which the eastern one, roughly answering to Linlithgowshire, was called Calatria, and the western, taking in the eastern part of Stirlingshire, was called Mannan, a name still to be recognised in "Clackmannan" and "Slamannan." Calatria and Mannan soon lost their separate identity. Yet because of their geographical position, because they lay along the course of one of the great Scottish waterways, and still more because they were a strip of lowland looked down upon, as it were, by the Highlands of the west and north and by the Southern Uplands, they have always been an exceedingly important region in Scottish history. It was part of the region occupied by the wall of Antoninus Pius and Agricola's forts, a region, above all, of battlefields. In

early times, lying as they did enclosed by the four kingdoms, and open, along the Firth of Forth, to the eastward, they were inhabited by a mixed race.

Galloway was inhabited by Celts, perhaps not quite identical with either Picts or Cumbrians, though called "Picts" down to the twelfth century. Politically their land was a lordship, principality, or earldom.

We have now got a complete political picture of North Britain when it first comes out clear after the Romans left the island. We must now follow the stages of the process by which the four kingdoms and their adjuncts grew into the one *Regnum Scotiae* of 1034.

One little fact we must never forget—namely, that Scotland was not the name of any part of North Britain until about 930 A.D. and that the Latin form *Scotia* was not used except as the name of Ireland until the beginning of the eleventh century—*i.e.* not very long before the one kingdom of Scotland came into existence. Had the land any one name at all? Of course, where there is no political unity, unity of name is of no great importance. The Romans, we have seen, called the region of North Britain beyond their own conquests *Caledonia*. The Celtic name for North Britain before it began to be called Scotland was *Albu*, or *Alban*.

The first great step toward the making of the kingdom of Scotland was *the union of the Picts and the Scots*, of Dalriada and Pictland. This great event was led up to, and largely brought about by, the mission of St Columba, about which, therefore, something will now be said.

The Scots of Dalriada, we know, were Irish. Now Ireland, inhabited, like Pictland, by Goidelic Celts, gained the blessings of comparative settlement and civilisation sooner than Britain. Chief among those blessings was the knowledge of the Christian religion. It is said that Christianity was first taught to the Scots or Irish of Ireland by a good man called St Patricius, or St Patrick,

about whom there are a great many traditions but little certain knowledge. St Patrick, who came, it is said, to Ireland as a missionary when quite an old man, seems to have preached diligently in the island, converting one Irish chief after another, until at his death there was a fully-organised Scottish or Irish Church in Ireland with bishops, monks, and synods, or assemblies. This Church was in many respects very different from the great Latin Church of the West, which had its centre at Rome. A church always tends to resemble the state which exists by its side. Ireland in the days of St Patrick was a peculiar kind of state, exceedingly unlike the Roman Empire at the same time. It was a collection of tribes, each ruled by its own chief, held together chiefly by the ties of the race and speech, and owning some shadowy allegiance to a king. It had no strong king wielding the kind of undisputed authority which alone made kingship worth the name in those days; no towns with powers of self-government; no districts like the English shires, which were almost little states in themselves. The Irish Church was much affected by these peculiarities. It had no great centre of civil government like Rome in which to fix itself. Just as the Irish tribes were personal, so to speak, rather than local, so was the Irish Church personal rather than local. Its principal clergy were monks and missionaries with no special local habitation; even the bishops had no dioceses.

All this helped to make the Irish Church a preaching and missionary Church. Its distance from the Continent also, and its isolation in Ireland, kept it enthusiastic and unworldly, and thus for more than 100 years after St Patrick's death many powerful missionaries set out from Ireland and carried Christianity into distant parts of Europe.

One of those missionaries was St Columba. He was born in Ireland in 521 and was Irish of the Irish, having

the blood of chiefs, and even of kings, in his veins. After doing much for the spread of Christianity in Ireland his missionary enthusiasm led him to North Britain in 563, and with twelve followers he steered for its wild and broken western coast. In doing so he was not at first venturing among aliens and heathens. The kingdom of Dalriada, a kingdom of Irish Christians, had existed in North Britain for about half-a-century before Columba arrived, and was, indeed, tributary to Ireland. It was on Dalriadic soil that he landed. Off the south-western corner of the island of Mull you will see a small island called Iona, or Icolmkill. It was on Iona that St Columba and his twelve followers landed. Here they set up a monastery, and hence the Christian message was carried far and wide, not only into the heart of North Britain, but deep into England as well. As a Christian centre the little island of Iona became a kind of rival to the great city of Rome.

St Columba's first object was to convert the Picts. Great and unworldly missionary as he was, he mixed up politics with religion in a most wholesome way. He found the relations between Dalriada and Pictland seriously disturbed. It was not wonderful that this was so. Dalriada was but a small settlement, and the Picts must have had not only the pride of great territories but the pride of long possession to make them overbearing and hostile. Before Columba's arrival in Iona the Dalriadic Scots had suffered defeat at the hands of the Picts, their territories had been diminished, and their king had been slain. As soon as St Columba had completed his great Christian centre at Iona he and his followers proceeded to do two things—to convert the Picts and their king, and to restore Dalriada to prosperity. The Pictish king at this time was named Brude. He dwelt in his capital seat on the Ness, that very short piece of river which flows from Loch Ness into the Beauly Firth, at the end of which stands the town of Inverness. St Columba and two companions found their

way across the mountains to King Brude's presence. They were much opposed by the Druids, the heathen priesthood of the Picts and other Celtic peoples. We read in the life of St Columba written by Adamnan, an abbot of Iona who lived 100 years after the saint (a book which is a strange mixture of fact and legend), how the Druids had power to lash the waves of Loch Ness into fury as the missionaries sailed on it, and how Columba, calling on Christ the Lord, hoisted sail and flew along in safety against the wind. We also read that King Brude at first bore himself proudly and "would not open the gates on the first arrival of the blessed man. As soon as the man of God knew it he came with his companions to the folding doors of the gateways, and first making on them the sign of the Lord's cross, next he knocks and lays his hand against the doors, which at once are opened of their own accord and with all speed, they both being driven back with great force. The king, with his council, in great alarm sets out from the house and goes to meet the blessed man with all reverence, and very gently addresses him with conciliatory words. And from that day, and ever after, the same ruler held the holy and venerable man in very great honour, as was only right, all the remaining days of his life."

From this we learn that the conversion of King Brude was not a very difficult matter. The conversion of the king was followed by the conversion of the nation. For about nine years St Columba and his companions dwelt and preached among the Picts, and thenceforward heathenism and Druidism seem to have been extinct in those wide regions. This was a very long step towards both the civilisation and the unity of North Britain.

For, as we have seen, St Columba was a statesman as well as a saint, and besides making the Picts Christians he wished to bring them into close and friendly relations with Ireland and to restore the kingdom of Dalriada

which the Picts had cut short. Both those objects he gained. The Picts made firm peace with the Scots of Dalriada, and for a long time Irish influence, unchecked by political hostility, flowed from Ireland through Dalriada over the ruder Pictland. But St Columba did not mean that North Britain should be a mere dependency of Ireland. He restored Dalriada, and made it for the first time completely independent of Ireland. Conail, king of Dalriada when Columba came to Iona, died, and his son and legal successor was set aside in favour of one Aidan, another member of the royal line. There is no doubt that Aidan was chosen by St Columba's influence. In his life we read that the saint saw Aidan's face in a crystal glass as of one pointed out by God. There is no doubt also that in a great conference of kings and chiefs held at Drum Ceath in the north of Ireland in 575 it was owing to St Columba that the independence of Dalriada was formally recognised.

Aidan, first king of independent Dalriada, was a strong and ambitious ruler, and his reign was important in English as well as in Scottish and North British history. All the Celtic North British kingdoms were looking with reasonable anxiety on the advance of that Bernician kingdom whereof Edinburgh became afterwards the border fortress. The immediate neighbours of the English of Bernicia and Lothian were the Strathclyde Britons, and in Aidan's reign there were hostilities between them and Bernicia. Aidan helped them, and drove the Bernicians from the debatable land of Mannan. Then he went farther still, but with a very different result.

In 593 Æthelfrith became king of Bernicia. He proved to be a very hammer of the Celts; it was he who in 613 won the battle of Chester and finally broke the continuous power of the Welsh. In 603 Strathclyde and Dalriada, in an alliance led by King Aidan, marched to attack the great King Æthelfrith. It was a bold move, but it failed. A

great battle was fought at Daigsastan, somewhere in the present county of Roxburgh, in which the Scots and Britons were utterly routed. A great check was thus given to St Columba's work and to the advance of the Scots for many a day. Still their position in North Britain was not altered; the independence of Dalriada won at Drum Ceath was not lost. Aidan died in 606.

Henceforward for nearly a century, from the great battle of Daigsastan to the still greater battle of Nechtansmere in 685, the chief power in all Britain was Northumbria. Northumbria was the name belonging to the region between the Humber and the Firth of Forth. Sometimes that region (consisting originally of the two kingdoms Bernicia and Deira) was united into one kingdom through the power of one or other of the two; sometimes the kingdom fell apart again. The victor of Daigsastan was the Bernician king of a united Northumbria; after his death the kingship passed to the Deiran Eadwine, the traditional founder of Edinburgh. Both Æthelfrith and Eadwine, therefore, ruled over Lothian and were North British kings. When in 633 Eadwine was killed in battle with Penda, king of the Mercians, Northumbria fell apart, and Oswald, son of Æthelfrith, became king of Bernicia. He too in turn fell before Penda in 642, and was succeeded by his brother Oswiu, son of Ecgfrith, who once more united Northumbria. The union was kept up under Oswiu, who (as we shall presently see) tried to carry Northumbrian power against the Picts, but in 685 was routed and slain at Nechtansmere, in what is now the county of Forfar, to the north of the Firth of Tay.

Now all this is English history, of course; but it is Scottish history as well, not only because the northern frontier of all the kings we have mentioned always remained the Firth of Forth, not only because they were all rulers of Lothian, but for two other very important reasons—because for the greater part of this time Northumbria held

a kind of superiority over all other British kingdoms; and, secondly, because Bernicia and Lothian learned Christianity from the Irish or Scottish centre set up by St Columba at Iona, and Oswald and Oswiu were overlords of Strathclyde, Pictland, and Dalriada; and it was in an effort to throw off the overlordship of Northumbria that the Picts won their great victory at Nechtansmere.

Whatever the overlordship may have amounted to, it was an important fact which we must never forget.

But much more important is the fact that Lothian learned Christianity from Iona. When Eadwine of Deira overcame Bernicia he banished the sons of Æthelfrith. Of the two young men, Oswald, afterwards king, took refuge at Iona, and there became a sincere follower of Christ. When he came to his throne and was lord over all Britain he sent to Dalriada for a missionary-bishop to come and convert his nation. They sent a holy man called Aidan, one (as Baeda, our chief authority for this period, tells us) of singular meekness, piety, and moderation. St Aidan made a request to King Oswald which was not very wonderful seeing that he came from the island of Iona. He asked that his bishop's stool might be set up in the little island of Lindisfarne (hence called Holy Island), between Bamborough and the Tweed, from which at low water you can walk to the mainland. The request was granted, and Lindisfarne became a kind of new Iona in the North Sea, whence Christian influence spread over all Northumbria. This began in 635.

In Lothian the chief missionary work was done by St Cuthbert, another saintly monk of the Irish Church. His seat was at Melrose, where are still the ruins of a beautiful abbey church.

Having mentioned these things we must not linger over Northumbrian history, but return to that of Dalriada and Pictland, which, as we know, were destined by-and-by to become one kingdom.

In the seventh century, after the death of King Aidan, Dalriada greatly fell back. Her third king from Aidan, called Donald Breac, was slain in battle against the Britons in 642, and from that time onwards Dalriada seems to have lost its unity and to have become a mere collection of tribes.

During two centuries the chief interest of North British history lies in Pictland, which succeeded to the kind of superiority formerly held by Northumbria. Three at least of its kings ought to be remembered by their names and their deeds.

Nectan, who was on the throne somewhere about 700, wrought a change in the Scottish Church which turned out for the benefit of the Scottish kingdom. We remember that Pictland and Northumbria were made Christian not by the Roman but by the Irish Church, founded, it was said, by St Patrick. Now the Roman and Irish Churches differed not only in general character (as we have seen) but in some points of ritual or ceremonial observance—especially, the date at which Easter should be observed, and the shape of the tonsure, or shaven patch, on the head of the clergy. For students of history the points of ritual are of small importance; what matters to us is that the Roman Church was the Church of the Roman Empire and the Irish Church the Church of remote islands far from the centre of life and civilisation. It was one of the greatest moments in the early history of England when in 664, by the authority of Oswiu, king of the Northumbrians, his people gave up the Irish for the Roman practice.

What Oswiu did for Northumbria in 664 King Nectan did for Pictland in 710. To him the ceremonial points seemed the important ones; he wished, above all, to hold Easter at the proper date. He was converted himself, and he ordered the change to be made throughout his dominions; and so Pictland followed Northumbria, and

North Britain, except Strathclyde, entered the charmed circle of Christian civilisation, with its centre at Rome. Iona itself passed over to the Roman rule a few years after. For all that, Scottish Christianity remained Celtic in general character for centuries.

Angus M'Fergus is the second king of the Picts who ought to be remembered. He began his reign in 731. He was a strong fighting king, and it was under him that Pictland won its superiority over both Dalriada and Strathclyde. The latter he subdued, in alliance with Northumbria, by taking Alcluyd in 756. Soon afterwards he died, and by-and-by a new element appeared in North British history.

The third Pictish king to be remembered is Constantin I. It is with him that we must learn to associate the coming of fresh invaders into North Britain; this time neither Irish nor English, but Northmen, or, as they were afterwards called, Scandinavians, from the lands between the Baltic and the North Sea. It was the Northmen who from this time onwards made themselves so formidable in the northern seas, in the Channel, and in the Mediterranean itself. They first ravaged and then settled in different parts of England; they occupied the east of Ireland and set up a kingdom in Dublin; they founded a Northman's duchy (Normandy) on the south of the English Channel; they set up states in southern Italy and in Sicily.

It was towards the islands off the western coast of North Britain that the Northmen turned their thoughts and their prows in the reign of Constantin I. They appeared there about 794, and the kingdom of Scotland did not get wholly rid of them from those regions until 1266. Nor was it only in the western isles that the Northmen planted themselves. The Orkney and Shetland Islands lay temptingly in their way as they came from Norway. So in course of time they set up an earldom there, and also settled in the present Caithness and Sutherland.

On one of their expeditions, in 802, the Northmen seized Iona, and, being heathen, burned the precious Christian buildings there. This event led King Constantin to take a step which made for the unity of North Britain. He moved the ecclesiastical centre of his dominions from the remote island of Iona to the sheltered and central Dunkeld on the Tay, about 15 miles north-west of Perth. Everything seemed tending towards the concentration of North British power in the hands of the Picts.

We are now on the threshold of the great event which had been long preparing—the union of Pictland and Dalriada, of the Picts and the Scots. Curiously enough, however, it was the Scots and not the Picts who gave a king to the new state. Constantin I. died in 821, having been much harassed by the Northmen all his time. In 839 the invaders penetrated into Pictish lands not far from Dunkeld and Perth. This hard case of the Picts probably gave the Scots an opportunity, and a Dalriadic king, Kenneth M'Alpin, fought some battles against the Picts, and then claimed their throne in 844. He sustained his claim, and began to rule from his seat at Forteviot on the Earn, in the central region of the land. Thus were two of the original North British kingdoms firmly and finally united. We are now within two centuries of our *Regnum Scotiæ*. During those two centuries we have three things to watch—(1) the struggle between the new state (which we ought to call Alban) and the encroaching Northmen; (2) the struggle of Alban with Strathclyde and Lothian, ending in the incorporation of the two last named; (3) the relations between Alban, Strathclyde, and Lothian on the one hand and the English kingdoms south of Tweed and Solway on the other.

(1) The Northmen grew bolder and more inclined to settle as the years went on. For example, in the reign of Constantin II., the son of Kenneth M'Alpin (863-877), they swarmed from Ireland into his kingdom again and

again; they penetrated deep into the mainland, on one occasion seizing Dumbarton, the capital of Strathclyde. Indeed, they well-nigh overcame Alban, until Constantin himself fell before them in Fife. This was the famous time in English history when Alfred of Wessex was making his great struggle with the same foes in Southern Britain. Alfred, we know, only succeeded in winning half of England for the English; the Northmen held the other half. So both in Alban and Strathclyde a great deal had to be borne from the northern invaders—sometimes Danes, sometimes Norwegians—quite far into the tenth century. With the separate invasions and battles we need not greatly trouble ourselves. Only the broad general result is important; which is, that two Scandinavian earldoms were established on the borders of Alban, one an earldom of the Hebrides, taking in the great islands off the west of Scotland; the other an earldom of the Orkneys, taking in, besides the Orkney Islands, the Shetland Islands and the present counties of Caithness and Sutherland. It even appears that at one time the Northmen held power down to the Moray Firth.

(2) and (3) The relations between Alban, Strathclyde, and Lothian, and the relations between these three and England, are so mixed up with each other that we had much better consider them together.

How did the three North British kingdoms become one kingdom of Scotland? And was that kingdom, or were any of the kingdoms of which it was made up, wholly independent of the kingdoms or kingdom of the English south of the Tweed and the Solway? Let us for a moment consider the second question first.

In 924, when Eadward the Elder was king of the English and Constantin III. king of Alban, something is said to have happened which had a great deal of influence for centuries to come. It is said that in that year the king of Alban with all his subjects, and the king of Strath-

clyde with all his, "chose King Eadward to father and lord." This is the ordinary phrase expressive of *feudal commendation*—that is to say, of the process by which one man or state became dependent on another superior man or state. There are difficulties about accepting the phrase as a statement of fact, and even if we do accept it as a statement of fact there are difficulties about understanding what the fact exactly was. But all we need to remember (and it is very important that we should remember it) is that, on the strength of this supposed *commendation* of Constantin and the Strathclyde king to Eadward, English kings kept on at intervals for hundreds of years claiming to treat Scotland as a dependent and vassal kingdom; while Scotland, for her part, once at least yielded to the claim, but at last wholly rejected it, and fought for, and won, her independence.

Curiously enough, very much the same kind of mysterious transactions happened with regard to Strathclyde and Lothian, with the result on the one hand that the English claim to superiority over all Scotland was strengthened for the future, and, on the other, that the unity of North Britain under the king of Alban was hastened.

In this chapter we have had little to do with Strathclyde—the British kingdom stretching to the south of the Solway and having its capital at Alcluyd, or Dumbarton, on its northern frontier. Early in the tenth century Strathclyde needed a king, and chose Donald, brother of Constantin III., king of Alban. This choice made for unity, but not for a century did unity come. Malcolm I. reigned over Alban, 942-954. At this time Eadmund, king of the English, was hard pressing the Northmen, who were wont to pour into England from Ireland by way of Cumbria, the part of Strathclyde south of the Solway. It is said (in the same Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which tells of the commendation of the Picts and Britons to Eadward) that in 945 Eadmund, having laid waste

Cumbria, granted it to Malcolm I., king of Alban, on condition that he should be his "fellow-worker." Here (supposing the thing to have really happened) two questions arise. (1) Did this act of King Eadmund give the English a permanent superiority over the territory in question? (2) Was that territory Strathclyde, to the north of the Solway, or only Cumbria, to the south of it? We need not now discuss either of these questions; they have been answered, and will continue to be answered in different ways by different people, often according to their patriotic leanings. It will be more to the purpose if we remember the facts that Strathclyde for some time had separate kings from those of Alban and that it was often afterwards hostile to Alban. The only real tie between Alban and Strathclyde seems to have been the blood relationship (when there was any) between the kings, and it was in that way that real union came at last, in 1019. Eogan, king of Strathclyde, died in that year, and Malcolm II., king of Alban, appointed his grandson Duncan as Eogan's successor, Duncan being also heir of Alban. So Duncan I. (the "gracious Duncan" of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*) was the first king of a *Regnum Scotiæ* which included Strathclyde (from the Solway) and Lothian (from the Tweed to the Forth) as well as Alban. It now only remains to tell how Lothian came to be part of this kingdom.

Here, as in the case of Strathclyde, we have to deal with a mysterious and formal, followed by a real, incorporation after a victory in the field. First of all we must notice what happened to Edinburgh, the border town of Lothian, said to have been founded by King Eadwine. Somewhere between 954 and 962 Edinburgh became a possession of the kings of Alban, a Pictish (or, as we may now allow ourselves to say, a *Scottish*) town. It was a great step towards North British unity when this commanding fortress ceased to be English; in time it was sure to carry with it the rest of Lothian into the new allegiance.

Kenneth II. (971-995) is said to have received Lothian from Eadgar, king of the English, to be held of Eadgar as his superior. That made the formal incorporation of Lothian in the Scottish kingdom, and the English have always used it to support their claims of superiority over Scotland. Scottish patriots and historians prefer to dwell on the invasions of Lothian made by kings of Alban. The fortunes of Lothian naturally followed the fortunes of Northumbria as a whole. Kenneth II. penetrated as far south as York. Malcolm II., his son (1005-1034) besieged Durham, and then suffered defeat. But in 1018 he again invaded Lothian, with epoch-making results. He won a great battle at Carham, near Coldstream, on the Tweed, in which he utterly defeated the English with great slaughter. This battle brought about the *real* incorporation of Lothian north of Tweed with the Scottish kingdom, for it was ceded to Malcolm by the Earl of Northumbria. And we know what that meant. It did not mean merely that Scotland had won, or had been given, a piece of England. It meant that the kingdom of Scotland about to be ushered into existence, the kingdom with the Celtic population and the Irish name, was to be English, so far at least (to quote our own words yet once more) as what was "strongest and most enduring" in her history was concerned.

Having now seen how the one *Regnum Scotiæ* of Duncan I. was formed out of the early races and kingdoms of North Britain, let us glance at the map and fix in our minds the whereabouts of the chief holy and famous spots in Scotland so far.

Iona, we know, had wholly lost its early glory. The heathen Northmen had fallen upon it with fire; Constantin I. and Kenneth M'Alpin made *Dunkeld* the religious centre instead of Iona—the latter king even taking some of St Columba's bones from the one place to the other. It was but part of the general march of civilisation

towards the centre and east of the land, away from islands and sounds and wild mountains to fertile plains and river valleys and the eastern coast, with its outlook on the Continent. Dalriada dies when it has given a king and a dynasty to Pictland; we hear no more of its capital on Loch Crinan. And when the Dalriadic king becomes king of Alban he does not make his seat where the Pictish kings had made theirs—beyond the mountains on the remote banks of the Ness—he settles at *Forteviot*, on the fertile plain of southern Perthshire, where the river Earn comes down eastward from Drumalban to join the Tay. Then a little later the capital is fixed at *Scone*, 2 or 3 miles north-east of Perth. Scone was the official centre of Scottish life and power for many a day.

Alcluyd, on the rock of *Dumbarton*, lost its fame with that of Strathclyde, and the fame of *Edinburgh* lay all in the future. The only other places at which we need look now, *Melrose* and *St Andrews*—one in the sweet valley of the Tweed, the other on the bleak eastern coast, with the waves of the wild North Sea dashing about its feet—are chiefly concerned with the early religious life of North Britain. About that life we will say a very few words before ending this long chapter.

We have said enough about the mission of St Columba and the conversion of Pictland. Two much more shadowy saints than Columba seem to have introduced Christianity to Strathclyde and Galloway. Before the Romans left Britain *St Ninian*, a priest of the Roman, not the Irish Church, preached Christ in Galloway and built a stone church called the White House near Wigtown. Of Ninian and his work nothing more is known.

A certain *St Mungo*, or *Kentigern*, preached in Strathclyde, but of him we know even less than of St Ninian. He is associated, but by fancy rather than fact, with the town of Glasgow, now so great a city, which grew up around his shrine.

The Irish Christianity which converted Northumbria found a famous saint in *Cuthbert*. Aidan, who, we remember, fixed his bishop's stool at Holy Island, founded a monastery at *Melrose*, and from Melrose St Cuthbert won Lothian for Christ.

St Andrews was made a place of resort by various kings of Alban. Its chief importance at this time was its connection with the religious brotherhood of the *Culdees*. Of the beliefs and practices of this brotherhood not very much is known. The name Culdee comes from two Celtic words meaning "companion of God." The Culdees seem to have been companies of ascetic hermits who lived in monasteries and practised great rigour of life. St Andrews was the chief seat of the Culdees in the twelfth century, but there was a settlement of them much earlier at the island called St Serf's Inch in Loch Leven (in the present county of Kinross), and they established themselves at other points of eastern Scotland. They seem, like many other monks, to have lost their original fervour and purity as time went on and to have gradually yielded to the power of the "secular" or non-monastic clergy.

CHAPTER IV

MALCOLM III. (CEAN-MOHR) AND EDGAR. 1057-1107

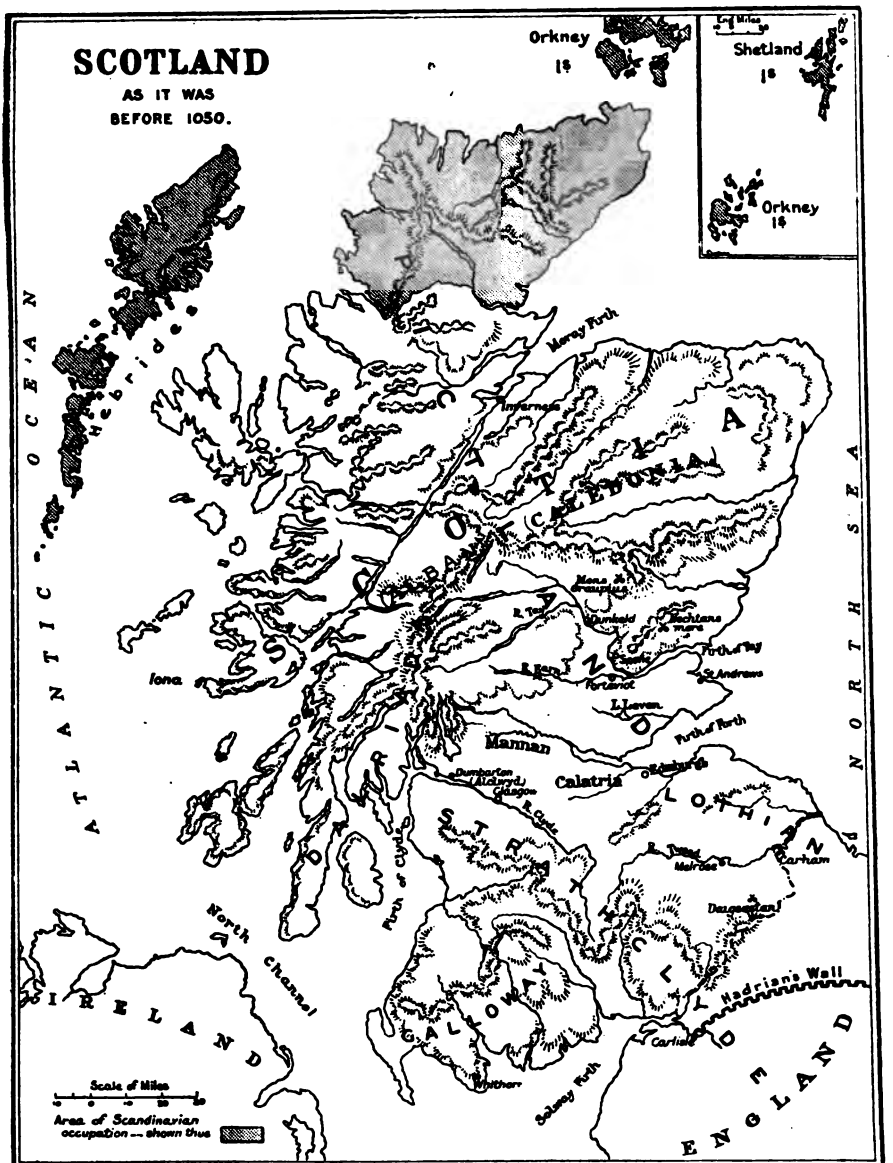
WE have seen how under Duncan I. there was at last a *Regnum Scotiæ*, a kingdom of Scotland north of the Tweed and the Solway. But we must be very careful not to make too much of this. It is only when we compare the North Britain of Duncan with the North Britain of St Columba, Kenneth M'Alpine, or the Constantins that we can speak of it as *united*. When we compare it with the North Britain of later Scottish kings we see how loosely knit was the unity of the realm over which Duncan and his immediate successors ruled.

This chapter will discuss the following problem :—Was a real unity of Scotland possible under those successors, and especially under Malcolm III. and Edgar, and what were the chief difficulties in the way?

The difficulties will come out clearly as the chapter proceeds. But we may now speak of a few of them beforehand ; they are not new to us.

(1) Strathclyde, though it now owned the same king as Alban, had a long, separate history behind it. It was encumbered with the wild and semi-independent earldom of Galloway ; its inhabitants were British, and not Gaelic, Celts. Besides, in the eleventh century it is very doubtful (as we shall see) whether it did not include lands south of the Solway—the whole, in fact, or at least part of the present county of Cumberland. For a long time it was an *appendage to*, rather than a *part of*, Scotland, the old Pictland and Dalriada combined.

(2) Lothian, from the Forth to the Tweed, though it


SCOTLAND
AS IT WAS
BEFORE 1050.
Orkney
Shetland
Orkney
Hebrides
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Moray Firth
Inverness
CALEDONIA
Mons Graupius
Dunkeld
Bechtans mere
Firth of Tay
St Andrews
Fortevict
L. Leven
Firth of Forth
Iona
Mannan
Calatria
Edinburgh
Dumbarton (Alclwyd)
Glasgow
R. Clyde
Firth of Clyde
Melrose
Carham
Daigeastan
Hadrian's Wall
Carlisle
Whithorn
Solway Firth
North Channel
IRELAND
ENGLAND
Scale of Miles
Area of Scandinavian occupation — shown thus

Methuen & Co.

had been won for Alban at the battle of Carham, and also (if we may trust the chroniclers as interpreted by English lawyers) had been given to kings of Alban by English kings to be held under their superiority, remained exceedingly unlike the North British lands with which it was associated. It was Teutonic and English, the only Teutonic and English part of the Scottish kings' dominions; and the difference between Celts and Teutons is one of the greatest and most strife-producing race differences of which history tells us. Besides, it was difficult to keep Lothian distinct from the English earldom of Northumbria, of which it once formed part. The Scottish kings were always wishing and trying to win Northumbria, at least as far as the Tees, for Scotland.

(3) The uncertainty of the Scottish hold on Lothian and the tendency of Scottish kings to attack English territory south of the Tweed led to difficult relations with England which were a hindrance to real unity.

(4) The Northmen (Danes and Norwegians) were too near North Britain and had too much power actually within its borders for the *Regnum Scotiæ* to be at this time the self-contained unity it afterwards became. The great islands which had been part of Dalriada and Alban were now a Danish power; the Orkney and Shetland Islands, with the present counties of Caithness and Sutherland, were a Norwegian earldom. And then there was the Danish kingdom of Dublin always ready to reinforce the Northmen settled in Britain. The presence of those Teutonic conquerors and settlers on the flanks of Celtic Scotland hindered the unity of North Britain.

(5) Of one other hindrance we may speak of which we have not spoken before. Although Pictland, both before and after its union with Dalriada, was nominally one kingdom it was really a collection of tribes loosely held together. Now those tribal divisions seem to have gone on for hundreds of years. The tribes seem to have

become fixed in provinces (as we say), of which the rulers were called "mormaers" and afterwards earls. Those mormaers were always dangerous subjects of the Scottish kings.

And now, keeping these things in mind, we will go on with our story, which will convince us of their truth.

If Shakespeare had not written *Macbeth* there would have been little need for us to say much about Duncan I. or to pause on our way to Malcolm Cean-Mohr. But that wonderful play, though it is based upon untrue history, has so impressed on our minds the Duncan and the Macbeth, the Malcolm and the "Donalbain" of Shakespeare, that we cannot pass by the real characters bearing those names.

Duncan I. reigned only six years (1034-1040). Those years illustrate the loosely-knit condition of Scotland about which we have been speaking. The Earl of Northumbria laid waste Strathclyde; Duncan invaded Northumbria, laid siege to Durham, and was heavily defeated. He had also great trouble with the Northmen. The Norwegian earldom, including Caithness, Sutherland, and the Orkneys, was held by one Thorfinn, a fierce and proud man who refused to own the superiority of King Duncan. His mother was a daughter of Malcolm II., for Malcolm, instead of cultivating hostility to the Scandinavians in the north, had made a marriage alliance with them, giving his daughter to Sigurd, Thorfinn's father. Duncan attacked Thorfinn, and fought more than one great fight with him by land and sea, but all to no purpose. Duncan's forces were scattered, and Ross was won for the Norwegian earldom.

Yet another and a fatal danger lay in wait for poor Duncan. One of the northern mormaers was Macbeda or Macbeth, who was mormaer of Moray (not "thane of Glamis" as Shakespeare makes him). He was Duncan's chief general in the war against Thorfinn, and he was a powerful ruler and perhaps very ambitious.

His wife, Gruoch, was granddaughter of King Kenneth III. of Alban, and her royal blood probably stimulated Macbeth's ambition. Anyhow, he rebelled, and slew Duncan in battle near Elgin, and not in Shakespeare's castle at Inverness. This is the true history which we must set over against the false history which Shakespeare took from Holinshed and on which he made his immortal poem.

The reign of Macbeth, so far as we can see it in the dim past, is interesting, though not as it interested Shakespeare. Macbeth, though a usurper, was a really strong king; he held his own even over the Norwegian earls in the North, and under him Scotland was perhaps kept better together, as well as more firmly governed, than ever before. And Macbeth and Gruoch, his queen, seem to have been pious as well as strong. They endowed the Culdees with lands; they even gave largess to the poor of Rome.

Yet (as we know, truly enough, from Shakespeare) Duncan's son, Malcolm, was living all the time, and Northumbria was a danger. Earl Siward of Northumbria attacked Macbeth and pressed him hard. Then in 1057 Malcolm came north from his exile and slew Macbeth in open fight, not anywhere near either Birnam Hill or Dunsinane, but at Lumphanan, in what is now Aberdeenshire.

The victor over Macbeth, Malcolm III. (Cean-Mohr, Big Head, he was styled), coming thus to the throne of his ancestors inherited a strengthened kingdom and had a chance of doing better than his father, Duncan, had done. How would he use his chance? First of all, he had some trouble, though not very much, in the North. The men of Moray, where Macbeth had been mormaer, rose against Malcolm and set up Macbeth's son, but Malcolm put down the rebellion and slew his rival. Then by marrying the widow of Earl Thorfinn he secured friendly relations with the Northmen in those parts.

Malcolm Cean-Mohr's reign turns on his relations with Northumbria and England. England was passing through her greatest early crisis—the Norman Conquest. From civil war, foreign invasion, rapine and despotism she was to come forth, tried like gold from a furnace. All these things could not fail to affect Scotland. It is the distinction of Malcolm Cean-Mohr that, partly by accident, partly by design, he made ways by which English influences came into Scotland—those influences which were to prove the strongest and most permanent in her history.

It was of the great unrest which went before the Norman Conquest that Malcolm first made use. Northumbria instead of being a vital part of England was a thorn in her side; an outlying province, largely of Northmen. Malcolm of Scotland invaded it again and again, wishing, it seemed, to extend the frontier of Lothian from the Tweed to the Tees.

After the Conquest Malcolm did a better thing. English influence (so far as Scotland was concerned) was now double; it might be the influence of the Anglo-Saxons or the influence of the Norman invaders and conquerors. A brother and two sisters—Edgar, called "the Ætheling," Margaret, and Christina—who belonged to the Anglo-Saxon royal house, fled to Scotland. It was much for the good of Scotland that King Malcolm received them well; much for his blessing that, being a widower, he married the Anglo-Saxon Margaret. But the blessing was to come. For a long time all was confusion and war. Edgar the Ætheling naturally tried to withstand the Norman and to keep at least the North from him. In this attempt he had the new Earl of Northumbria, Gospatric, on his side; but they could not prevail against William, who conquered to the Tweed. Malcolm, still champion of the Anglo-Saxons against the Normans, invaded and harried Northumberland fiercely. Gospatric now turned against

Malcolm; but, on the other hand, Malcolm was lord of Cumberland (*i.e.* the old Strathclyde and Cumbria south of the Solway) by whatever tenure he held it, or however he may have come by it. These things happened in 1072.

In 1072 the Norman Conquest of England was as complete as William the Conqueror was to make it, and he turned his arms against Malcolm of Scotland. William carried his invasion as far (so one chronicler tells us) as Abernethy, a place on the southern bank of the Tay, where the river begins to broaden towards the Firth. Here Malcolm became *the man of William*, and another link was added to the chain of evidence of the dependence of Scotland on English superiority. If Malcolm were a vassal he was not a submissive or peaceful one. He attacked Northumberland, and a "New Castle" had to be built on the Tyne to keep him in check.

With the Conqueror's son, Rufus, it was the same story: Scotland could not make friends with England in so far as she was Norman. Edgar the Ætheling was still alive, and his presence made for disunion, though he tried to make peace between Malcolm and Rufus. The kings exchanged invasions, and when Rufus came into Scotland in 1091 Malcolm renewed the vassalage which he had sworn to the Conqueror.

In 1092 Rufus extended the Norman Conquest of England at the Scottish king's expense, by depriving Malcolm of Cumberland and fortifying Carlisle as a border stronghold between the kingdoms. In 1093 Rufus, who was sick at Gloucester, refused to see Malcolm, and the insulted king of the Scots once more crossed the Tweed as his neighbour's foe. It was for the last time. Malcolm and a son were treacherously slain near Alnwick, and England was no whit worse than she had been before.

Malcolm's English queen, Margaret, did more than her

husband for the good of Scotland and for peace between the kingdoms. Both by her deeds and her memory she softened and raised the Scottish people, and for her good deeds she is known as "St Margaret." It seems likely that her ability as a statesman's helpmeet was quite as great as her piety as a saint.

In connection with Malcolm and Margaret we must learn to know another famous place in Scotland. King Malcolm made his chief seat neither at Forteviot nor at Scone, but at Dunfermline, in what is now the county of Fife, not far from the northern shore of the Firth of Forth. Here a priory was founded by the king and queen, with a a stately church, and here they were both buried.

Three short reigns come between those of Malcolm and Edgar, his son. First, Donald Bane, Malcolm's brother, claimed the crown by the rule of succession, forced his nephews to remove their mother's body secretly from Edinburgh Castle to Dunfermline, and held nominal rule for a few months. Then Malcolm's son, Duncan, whose mother was his first wife Ingibiorg, backed by William Rufus of England, seized the crown from Donald's head and reigned for six months. Yet once more, a son of Malcolm and St Margaret named Edmund made common cause with his uncle, Donald Bane, and together they overthrew and slew Duncan II. They divided the Scottish realm between them, Edmund ruling south of the Forth (in Strathclyde and Lothian) and Donald to the north of it, in Alban. In three years (1097) they were dethroned (again with English help) by Edgar, a worthier brother of Edmund, and a better reign began.

These short reigns are worth remembering only as illustrations of the want of unity and prosperity which still existed in Scotland. All the causes unfriendly to unity and prosperity were at work, and nothing was as yet strong enough to overcome them. The root cause was the want of central unity, and the cause of that want

was the absence of racial unity anywhere in Britain. For Scotland, in fact, as for England, the future turned on the success of the Norman Conquest, and the only way by which Scotland could be made to share in that success was by going along with, rather than going against, her southern neighbour.

What might be done for Scotland by the policy of alliance with England was shown, after the miseries of the reigns with which we have just been dealing, by the short reign of Edgar (1097-1107). Edgar was a son of Malcolm Cean-Mohr and St Margaret. He was thus half English by blood, and he owed his seat on the throne to the intervention of his uncle, Edgar the Ætheling, and to the sympathy of William Rufus, king of the English. Edgar seems to have frankly acknowledged his vassalage to Rufus, and from beginning to end his short reign was marked by friendliness with England. This friendliness culminated in one of those royal marriages which are momentous political events. The many sons of Malcolm and Margaret had a sister called Eadgyth, and her King Edgar gave in marriage to the Norman King Henry I. of England. The marriage was significant in two ways—it showed that the young *Regnum Scotiæ* was working in harmony with Norman England; and, seeing that Eadgyth, called in England Matilda and Maud, had an Anglo-Saxon mother, it did much to bring together Normans and English in England. It was a smaller matter, but one not without importance, that Edgar made his royal seat at Edinburgh, in Lothian—in territory, that it to say, which had been entirely English, which was still feudally English, and which, being racially English, was to be the natural pathway of that English influence which is the cardinal factor in Scottish history.

However, in spite of Edgar's wise policy, he too was much hindered by the things that made for disunion in his realm. He had to consent, for one thing, to a great

strengthening of the Scandinavian power within lands geographically Scottish. We remember how strong that power already was in the hands of such a man as Earl Thorfinn. But it was weakened by difficulties of race: the Scandinavian (Teutonic) rulers had to rule over Celtic subjects in Scotland. In Edgar's reign the Celts of the Hebrides rebelled against their Norwegian masters. King Magnus Barefoot of Norway, who in 1098 had asserted his superiority over the Scandinavian lands off the Scottish coast, came in 1102 to put down and punish the Celtic rebellion. He turned out the sons of Thorfinn in Orkney; he subdued the Hebrides; he subdued even the Isle of Man. Before returning to Norway Magnus held a treaty with Edgar, by which all the islands from the Orkneys to Man were to be henceforth regarded as subject to the Norwegian kings.

Within the *Regnum Scotiæ* Edgar had to bow to stubborn facts. The gulf, of which "the Scots water," the Firth of Forth, was the symbol, still yawned between Alban and Lothian. Edgar, indeed, called himself *Rex Scotorum*, king of the Scots; but he had to address his subjects as "Scots and English." Before his death he recognised the gulf as impassable. He had two younger brothers, Alexander and David. The former he appointed to rule north of Forth (but with Edinburgh for capital); the latter was to be the Earl of Lothian and Strathclyde. The design was carried into effect.

CHAPTER V

DAVID I., ALEXANDER II., AND ALEXANDER III.

WE now stand on the edge of two eventful centuries, as eventful for Scotland as for other lands of Western Europe. Of Scotland we can say that during this period she attained two very important things—first, civilisation; secondly, sufficient unity to make it practicable for her to assert her national independence. What is meant by these things, and how Scotland found her way to them, this chapter will show.

King Edgar, we saw, was obliged to recognise that Scotland was not yet really one, and so far to maintain the old distinction between Alban on the one hand and Lothian and Strathclyde on the other as to make his brother Alexander king of the former district (with Edinburgh as his capital) and his other brother David earl of the other two districts. This action of Edgar's, however true to existing facts, could not be lasting. Scotland was certain to become one in politics and feeling, if not in race; the civilisation, advancing from the south-east, was certain to penetrate her effectively if not completely; and the English Edinburgh, which even Alexander was obliged to include in his northern land, was certain to be the chief seat of a power ruling without dispute from the Tweed and the Solway to the frontiers of the Scandinavian earldom in the north.

Thus the reign of Alexander I. (1107-1124) was a time of transition. We find both Celtic and Teutonic influences asserting themselves with a decided balance in favour of the latter. Alexander admitted the importance of the

Celtic mormaers by habitually consulting on matters of state seven earls, most of whom were representatives of the mormaers. But he did not possess their allegiance. He had lands at Invergowrie, a few miles to the westward of Dundee, and there, or near by, he seems to have been attacked by a force from Moray and the Mearns (the modern county of Kincardine), which he beat back with such great thoroughness and success as to be called thereafter Alexander the Fierce. The close relationship already existing between the Scottish and Anglo-Norman causes was made closer by Alexander's marriage with an illegitimate daughter of Henry I. On the whole, Anglo-Norman influence made great inroads in Scotland at this time. It did so very much through the Church, of which the king was a pious son. Thus, to commemorate his victory over the Celts of Moray, Alexander founded an abbey at Scone and stocked it with Augustinian monks from Yorkshire, bringing in this way to the gate of the Scottish Highlands something which was not only Norman, not only English, but European, for the Norman ecclesiastics were steeped in the culture of the Continent. Also, he strengthened government by bishops all over his kingdom, a thing which the Norman kings in England were forward to do. To the solitary see at St Andrews he added the dioceses of Dunkeld and Moray. At the same time he showed himself anxious to keep the Scottish Church as far as possible independent of the English archbishops without positively rebelling against them. The way in which he did it was ingenious. The English archbishops of Canterbury and York were to some extent rivals for supremacy over the Scottish Church, and Alexander played the one against the other, so as to prevent either from strengthening his hold in the North. St Andrews, the city that looks out over the wild North Sea, held the most important bishopric in Scotland; before the time of Alexander it had been the only Scottish diocese. All its bishops had been

Celtic; it was a stronghold of the Culdees. Alexander made even St Andrews Anglo-Norman, but he did so without giving away Scottish independence. He appointed as its bishop Turgot, the confessor and biographer of his mother, St Margaret. Turgot was consecrated at York, but the supremacy of York was not recognised. Turgot got tired of St Andrews, and died at Durham in 1115. After an interval a monk of Canterbury called Eadmer was appointed, but the king would not allow him to be consecrated at Canterbury. Eadmer soon resigned the see, and another vacancy occurred. One more attempt was made by the king before he died; in 1124 he appointed Robert, the prior of his English monks at Scone. Robert was consecrated by the Archbishop of York after King Alexander's death, but nothing was admitted as to his *right* to consecrate.

Meanwhile Earl David, who was, to say the least of it, as pious and politic as his brother, was carrying out his brother's Church policy in his dominions south of Forth. Glasgow was the chief town of Strathclyde, and there David restored the old see of St Kentigern, making its boundaries the same as those of Strathclyde.

Alexander I. left no heir when he died in 1124, and so his brother, Earl David, became king of all Scotland, and the land was again, at least externally, one, as it had been under Edgar.

We can hardly make too much of the reign of David I. in early Scottish history. Not only did it bring to a final end the old division between Alban, Strathclyde, and Lothian but it also gave to Scotland the best civilisation it possessed in the Middle Age, a civilisation which raised it for the time to a higher level than England and France. We must now, as it were, take this civilisation to pieces and look closely at the parts of which it was made up.

First, we observe of it that it was Teutonic and English. Alexander's policy had been Norman, but David's was much

more so. His connections and sympathies were thoroughly English. He had lived long in England. Henry I. of England was his brother-in-law. His wife was Matilda, whose father was Waltheof, the son of Earl Siward of Northumbria. His marriage made David of Scotland a great feudal magnate under the English king. For, first of all, he became Earl of Huntingdon; secondly, during his wife's lifetime, Earl of Northampton; and, thirdly, he claimed, and for many years actually held, the earldom of Northumberland.

Nor was it only the king who was Anglo-Norman. During his reign the nobles, the feudal magnates of Scotland, became chiefly Norman. Among the witnesses to the charters of Alexander I. we still find many Celtic names but among those to David's hardly any. Conspicuous among the Anglo-Norman Scottish magnates are already Robert de Brus, lord of Annandale, and John de Bailleul, lord of lands on the Tees, with whose names so many critical events in Scottish history were to be associated. There were also De Morevilles and Fitzalans holding offices which were of thoroughly Norman origin, such as those of Chamberlain, Seneschal, Marshal, and Constable.

On the whole, this process of Normanising Scotland was carried ont peacefully and without difficulty. There was one exception, however. The earldom or mormaerate of Moray, far from the centre of Scottish power, and long a sphere of Celtic influence, the region whose inhabitants Alexander I. had hardly conquered, would not yield to the Anglo-Norman tide without a struggle. Once when David was away visiting his brother-in-law, the king of the English, and Scotland was ruled by the Constable, the men of Moray, led by two brothers, Angus and Malcolm, came down from the North and fought a heavy battle with the Constable at a place called Stracathro, to the north of Dundee. The Constable won the day, and Angus, the Earl of Moray, was slain. For some years

Malcolm and his Celts remained unquiet and threatening, and David resolved to take decisive, though not cruel, measures. He summoned to his aid Anglo-Norman barons from the north of England, they assembled at Carlisle in formidable force, and Malcolm surrendered before their attack was delivered. He was shut up in the castle of Roxburgh on the Teviot, and David annexed the earldom of Moray to the Crown, parcelling out its lands among Anglo-Normans who were true to him. This was an important step in the civilising of Scotland.

When Henry I. died in 1134 a time of civil war and horrible anarchy began in England. Henry's son and heir had been drowned in the wreck of the *White Ship* between England and Normandy, and Henry had got his barons (among them his brother-in-law, King David of Scotland, the Earl of Huntingdon) to promise to be faithful to his daughter, Matilda or Maude, the wife of the emperor. But when Henry died his nephew, Stephen, Count of Blois, got himself made king of the English, and all the Empress Maude could do was to fight for her rights with such following as she could command. The situation in England was deplorable, for Stephen was unable to rule with any firmness, and the feudal barons, having no strong head over them, fought, each for his own hand, to the hurt of the community. King David, being uncle to the empress and faithful to her, was drawn into the English troubles. Stephen was hardly settled on the English throne when, in 1136, David occupied Cumberland and Northumberland in his niece's interest. But it soon became evident that the Scottish king was bent on securing Northumberland for his family. He gave up the fortresses he had temporarily occupied (except Carlisle), but he claimed Northumberland for his son Henry, on whom the earldom of Hunting don was conferred. Not content with a mere claim in 1138 he led a force into Northumberland, and a great

fight ensued between the two kings for the lordship of the north of England. Twice David invaded England, the first time without result, the second time with memorable consequences. With a large host, made up of the many races by whom his land was inhabited, conspicuous among whom were the Picts of Galloway, the Scottish king passed through Northumberland and Durham and crossed the Tees, reckoning, no doubt, on the support of those Anglo-Norman barons of Yorkshire who had helped him before. But in all this he was going far beyond any rights he had, and English patriotism rallied to drive him back. The men of Yorkshire gathered under Thurstan, the Archbishop of York, and south of Tees, near Northallerton, a great battle was fought. The English raised the Host aloft on the mast of a ship fixed in a waggon, and beside it waved the banners of St Peter of York, St John of Beverley, and St Wilfrid of Ripon. In the words of the chronicler: "Jesus Christ was bodily present as commander in the battle." The advantage of superior numbers on the Scottish side was outweighed by the superior skill of the Anglo-Norman chivalry and by the want of discipline in the valour of the men of Galloway who led the Scottish onset. In spite of much brave fighting the Scots were routed, and David had to retire on Carlisle, the only stronghold which remained to him in the north of England. Such was the famous *Battle of the Standard*, and such was its result. David, however, was bent on securing Northumberland, and soon after he again turned southward. Stephen was now at war with the empress, and David had him at a disadvantage. It was a time to snatch benefit by negotiation. In 1139 a treaty was made at Durham, by which Northumberland, as well as David's other English earldoms, were secured to Prince Henry. Stephen kept only Bamborough and Newcastle.

This treaty bound David for the moment to the side of Stephen in the civil war, but later in the struggle the

Scottish king fought on the losing side of the empress. With her son, afterwards King Henry II., he had sympathetic relations, and the two fought side by side. Their fighting, however, led to nothing, and the empress had to give up the game.

All David had gained by his intervention in English affairs was the reversion to his son, Prince Henry, of his English fiefs and of Northumberland. Henry was a young man of much strength, beauty, and popularity, but to the grief of both nations, as well as of his aged father, he died in 1152. David (as so often happens to old men similarly bereaved) followed him to the grave in the next year, 1153. It was the year before Henry of Anjou entered on his great task of repairing the ruins of England.

The fame of King David I. rests, we must remind ourselves, not upon his wars but upon what he did and what came about in his time for the manifold civilisation of Scotland. We have seen how much English (*i.e.* Anglo-Norman) influence flowed over Scotland under him; how many lands were given to Anglo-Norman feudal magnates, even in the far-off regions of Moray. But that was not all. In those days (as, indeed, at all times since Christ came) civilisation had one of its most powerful centres in the Church, and David was as true a child and servant of the Church as his mother, St Margaret, had been. From one generation to another the saying of James VI. has been handed down that he was "a sore saint to the Crown"—*i.e.* that he thought more of Christ's kingdom than of his own. His life has been written by a monk, Ailred of Rievaulx, and we must allow a good deal for the prejudices and over-praise of a monkish biographer. But when all possible allowance has been made a great deal of solid benefit both to Church and State remains behind.

For the Scottish Church David did much of the work which was done for England by Oswiu, Theodore of

Tarsus, King Alfred, and William the Conqueror. He endowed it, and he organised it; he made it definitely a branch of the Western or Roman Church. It was the age of monks, the various orders of whom were vigorously at work in Europe cultivating the soil, keeping bright the lamp of personal religion, and helping the cause of learning. In the southern part of his kingdom David founded for the monks a group of great abbeys, which, with their wide lands and noble buildings, did much to consecrate and adorn the country. Of those places the names—Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh by the Tweed; Dundrennan, near Kirkcudbright; Newbattle and Holyrood by Edinburgh; and Cambuskenneth by the Forth, near Stirling—have long been alive with poetic memories.

Besides monasticism, Episcopacy (*i.e.* government by bishops) and the parochial system were the two strengths of the mediæval Church. David strengthened the former and introduced the latter. He founded five bishoprics—Ross, Aberdeen, Caithness, Dunblane, and Brechin—to go with the pre-existing four—St Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, and Moray. Parishes were formed to relieve the labours of the bishops; the payment of tithes was enforced.

David's statesmanship was as striking as his churchmanship. It is true, indeed, that not all the progress which can be traced in Scottish institutions in his reign was due to the action of the king himself. Much of it was part of a civilisation which helped many lands as well as Scotland; but at least the king was sympathetic; he laid no obstacles; he did what he could. He consulted with his feudal council; he countenanced those early appeals to sworn witnesses and judges which were training the English people for self-government. Above all, he fostered and aided the growth of the Scottish towns.

The Scottish towns are the most interesting things in early Scottish history; and so advanced and so prosperous were they in the twelfth century that they made Scotland

for the moment seem superior in civilisation to either England or France. In the reign of David I. Scotland was full of towns which were active and progressive; inhabited by stirring men who knew the art of living profitably together and of making such rules for their common benefit as made them practically independent. Berwick, Inverkeithing, Edinburgh, St Andrews, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen were all on the sea or near it; all had some share in the commercial ventures and successes of the age. Berwick was compared with Alexandria. There were three sorts of towns (or burghs)—(1) the Royal Burgh; (2) the Burgh of Regality; (3) the Burgh of Barony. The first was presumed to be created by royal charter, and each burgher was in strict theory a direct vassal of the Crown. The other two kinds of town, were one step removed from the Crown, being immediately subject to an ecclesiastical or lay lord, and the difference between them was merely in degree of rank. In the twelfth century Edinburgh, Perth, Stirling, Haddington, and Dunfermline were regarded and treated as royal burghs. In Scotland, as in England and elsewhere, trade was the chief interest of the towns and the cause of their growth, and the *freedom* of towns consisted partly in their liberty to trade in the way that suited them best and partly in their freedom to choose their own magistrates. The records of the Scottish towns in the reigns of David I. and his successors show us the towns in their habit as they lived; the mayor and aldermen (by-and-by, as we shall see, town magistrates in Scotland were to get other names taken from France) with twelve burghers of their choice carefully looking after the trade of the town, insisting that all wares should be of a certain standard and openly bought and sold; courts of inspection held by the Lord Chamberlain on behalf of the Crown; every fortnight the ordinary court meeting for the punishment of evildoers, and three times a year a general moot of

the burgh taking in hand the general affairs of the place. We see the great annual fairs with their temporary privileges to law breakers; we look on at brisk sales of cloth, rice, figs, pepper, ginger, and other home and foreign dainties.

Nor were the Scottish towns wholly independent of one another. There are at least two great instances of the combination of several towns for trading purposes—a thing common enough at a later date on the Continent but unknown in England. Before the time of David I. there was one such combination north of the Grampians and another more important one in southern Scotland. The "Four Burghs" of Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxburgh, and Berwick formed a group with definite obligations, definite privileges, and a definite *status*. To start with, in the case of both the northern and the southern groups, each town shared in a monopoly of exclusive trade in any direction. Then the Four Burghs came to have a court, partly legislative, partly judicial, which punished offences against the equities of legitimate trading and also regulated many affairs of the burghers which had no direct connection with trade. As time went on this court gradually widened its scope so as to take in all the royal burghs. And its ghost still annually appears at Edinburgh in the shape of the *Convention of Royal Burghs*.

The Four Burghs were connected with the central government through the Lord Chamberlain. The Lord Chamberlain held regular *itinera*, in the course of which he met representatives from the Four Burghs at Haddington and supervised with them the rules of the court. Besides this, the Chamberlain was wont to hold an occasional court in each royal burgh. Beyond what has been said, the early history of burghs is still obscure.

The reign of David I. was followed by two reigns of vicissitude, in which the relations between Scotland and

England were disturbed and uncertain; the internal condition of the northern kingdom was unfavourable to unity, and its civilisation was unsteadily progressive. They make a prelude to the brighter history of the thirteenth century, when under Alexander II. and Alexander III. Scottish unity proved itself a thing that could be fought for.

David I., we remember, lost his son-and-heir before his own death. The beloved Prince Henry left three sons—Malcolm, William, and David—of whom the first two became in succession kings of the Scots. Malcolm IV. was only twelve when his grandfather died, and he succeeded him according to David's wish, not according to the Scottish custom of royal succession. It says a good deal for the quietness of temper of the Scots and for their attachment to the royal line that such an arrangement was endured and a child accepted as a ruling monarch.

Yet the short reign (1153-1165) was one of tumult from the beginning. The two obstacles to Scottish unity and tranquillity which had given so much trouble under David—uncertainty as to the southern boundary of Scotland and the rebellious temper of the Celts—proved more troublesome still under Malcolm.

David's eagerness that his kingdom should reach to the Tyne (at least) instead of the Tweed had been satisfied by the promise of Henry of Anjou, made in 1149, that, when he came to the English throne, he would give Northumberland to the Scottish kings; and, as a matter of fact, when David died, what we now call the counties of Northumberland, Durham, and Westmoreland were Scottish territory. But Henry, when king of the English, refused to fulfil the promise he had made as Count of Anjou. The kings met at Chester in 1157, Malcolm being only sixteen. Henry persuaded the boy to give up the three northern counties and to keep south of

Tweed only the Honour of Huntingdon. Tynedale, however, was granted to Malcolm's brother William as compensation for the loss of Northumberland, which had seemed so firm in Scottish hands.

Thus for the moment the frontier question was settled. The problem of inward peace was harder to solve. Side by side with, and on the outskirts of, the English centre and source of Scottish civilisation, reinforced as it was by an Anglo-Norman baronage, were the Celtic and Scandinavian regions and races, some of which were ruled by quite important potentates ready to give trouble to the king of the Scots. Thus, for example, the representative of the old Celtic mormaers of Moray, Donald MacHeth, joined with Somerled, the lord of Argyle, in the west, who was called king, and together they tried to dethrone young Malcolm (called "the Maiden," not from his purity of life). Malcolm defeated the rebels and shut up Donald in prison. This was in 1156. Moray seems to have rebelled no more, but in 1164 we find Somerled attacking Renfrew in the most formidable manner with a fleet behind him. Fortunately for Malcolm and Scotland Somerled and a son died by treachery on the eve of their great attacks.

At another time (1160) the important and central town of Perth was threatened by a band of insurgent magnates. Yet again Fergus, the lord of semi-independent Galloway, was a source of great trouble. Fergus revolted, and twice Malcolm failed to subdue him. A third time he was successful, and Fergus retired from public life to become a monk at Holyrood. From this time Galloway was a regular dependency of Scotland.

When Malcolm the Maiden died his brother William (called "the Lion") succeeded at once. Then the same troubles recurred in an aggravated form. To which of the two kingdoms were Northumberland and Cumberland to belong? Was the king of Scots to be undisputed lord

of all Scotland and its races, English, Celts, and Scandinavians alike?

Henry II. granted Huntingdon to William the Lion (who afterwards gave it up to his brother David), but William hungered for more. A stubborn fight for the north of England followed, which ended in the discomfiture of Scotland and the loss for a time of every shred of its independence.

William adopted the role of the treacherous ally of Henry, and when Henry's sons darkened the later years of their father's life by rebellion William joined the rebels. One of his acts—a natural act in all the circumstances—it is interesting to look back upon in the light of all that followed. The Scottish king appealed to the king of France, Louis VII., against the king of England, whose dominions in France were so great. It was a foreshadowing of the great Scoto-French alliance against England which, when it was begun a hundred years later, was the ruling fact in Scottish history for centuries.

In 1174 the open rebellion broke out, and William invaded England in order to force Northumberland out of Henry's hands. As his grandfather David, had been at Northallerton, William was withstood at Alnwick by the Yorkshire barons. After a brief engagement William was taken prisoner and then shut up in Henry's castle of Falaise in Normandy. A treaty, named after William's prison, was made in the end of the year, and William was allowed to return to Scotland. He went back as the humble vassal of Henry II. He was to hold the whole of Scotland subject to the feudal superiority of England; English garrisons were to occupy Edinburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Roxburgh, and Stirling; David (of Huntingdon) and twenty-one Scottish magnates were to be hostages.

Such was the Treaty of Falaise. It would be hard to make too much of it, for it is the first undoubted and unmistakable instance of that dependence of Scotland on England which one hundred years later England was to

assert so strenuously and Scotland was as strenuously to resist. It was England's claim and its consequences which first made Scotland really a united nation, which drove it into an alliance of centuries with France, and which was neither forgotten nor forgiven until happy events and counsels brought about a more lasting connection in a better way.

The undoubted and absolute subjection of Scotland lasted only fifteen years. During those years William the Lion behaved as a faithful vassal to Henry II. Henry was very anxious that the Scottish Church should be subject to the English Church; but that humiliation Scotland managed to avoid, and in 1188 the Scottish Church was put under the direct headship of the Pope, the Pope having sharply rebuked the English king for his interference.

As might have been expected, the Treaty of Falaise did not strengthen King William's hold on his troublesome subjects. The Celtic land of Galloway broke into rebellion again, though there seems to have been little bloodshed, and in 1185 the old state of things was restored peacefully. A more formidable revolt broke out in Moray, which had so often given trouble. A pretender arose in those regions, by name Donald MacWilliam, who claimed to be descended from the widow of Earl Thorfinn, whom Malcolm Cean-Mohr had made his wife, and so to have a prior claim to the allegiance of Moray. In 1181 MacWilliam asserted himself, and for several years King William had to bear to see him lord of Moray and Ross. At last he could bear it no longer, and in 1187 he marched north to attack MacWilliam and recover Moray. MacWilliam was caught and killed, and the Scottish king was lord of Moray once more.

The death of Henry II. in 1189 brought a great change in Britain. Two sons of Henry—Richard I. (1189-1199) and John (1199-1216)—succeeded their father on the

English throne, and both were thoroughly unsatisfactory kings. Their failure to rule the English well was of some advantage to Scotland. Richard I. cared only for going abroad on crusade, and he tried to turn all his possessions at home into money to pay for it. Among other things, immediately after coming to the throne he sold the superiority over Scotland, which Henry II. had made good by the Treaty of Falaise, to William the Lion for 10,000 marks. Thus the northern kingdom regained the independence which she had had since the Norman Conquest. When John began to reign William returned to the old mistaken policy—the attempt to win Northumberland and Cumberland—but his efforts stopped short of war. Again he appealed to the French king, Philip Augustus, against John's refusal to give way, but nothing came of this piece of diplomacy. The kings threatened each other a good deal, and held several interviews, and in 1209 they were on the brink of war. William prevented John from building a fortress at Tweedmouth to command the frontier river. As the result of negotiation at Norham the kings drew apart, and there was peace between them for the remainder of their reigns. But William had to pay 15,000 marks as purchase money for John's forbearance.

William the Lion died in 1214, just two years before John. In the end of his reign he had trouble again with the races over whom he ruled. The Scandinavian earldom of Caithness, we remember, was practically independent. In 1196 Earl Harold threw off the nominal sovereignty of the Scottish kings, and for two years William had to resist him by force. At last he overcame his rebellious feudatory, and held him prisoner until he submitted.

Two years before his death William had to deal with another rising of the men of Ross, led by a son of the old MacWilliam, which he was fortunately able to put down. So he closed his long reign with undiminished territories as well as recovered independence.

Under William the Lion, though he had no reputation for saintliness, the internal prosperity of Scotland continued to grow. William minded the things of God at least enough to found the Abbey of Aberbrothock, or Arbroath, north of the mouth of the Tay, and he minded the well-being of his subjects enough to give charters—the first we know of—to many towns, beginning with Ayr. In other ways, too, under him the peaceful institutions of the land were making progress, but of them we shall hear by-and-by.

Now we come to two important reigns—those of Alexander II. and Alexander III. They are important for two reasons—first, Scotland was more prosperous during their course than she had ever been before; and, secondly, they form the last chapter of her early prosperity. When they came to an end storm and tempest burst on the poor land, and though in the stress of adversity the Scottish people learned much and did much it was ages until they were able again to return to the highway of progressive civilisation.

The best proof of the welfare of Scotland during the thirteenth century is the fact that, when adversity came upon her, she was able to meet it with a united front. During the reigns of the second and third Alexanders she attained, without realising it at the time, to a unity—a real unity—in her efforts after which before she had been so often foiled. That achievement we must now trace. As we do so we shall see that Scotland was greatly helped by two things—first, the settlement of the old dispute about the north of England; and, secondly, the extension and confirmation of Scottish power over Celtic and Scandinavian districts which had been nearly, though not quite, independent. And we shall also see how a much less noble thing than either of those—namely, the rivalry of Scottish magnates and parties—helped towards the same result. In the growth of nations, as in

other cases, good comes out of evil. Alexander II. was a boy of sixteen when his father died; but in those days men came much more quickly to maturity than they do now, and we do not hear that Scotland suffered from her king's youth. But she had her share of other sufferings, and the young man made mistakes. Moray rose again under another MacWilliam, and had to be put down. Alexander II. was unwise enough to try for the north of England. King John's baronage was in revolt against him, under the leadership of the king of France's son, and the young Scottish king joined forces with those insurgents in order that he might get the much-coveted Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. It was all waste; John died; Louis of France was driven out; and England came to herself, with able patriotic statesmen, under the child-king Henry III. Alexander now wisely fell into line with the best forces in England. He gave up his claim to the North, and in 1221 he married the sister of Henry III., giving his own sister in marriage to Hubert de Burgh, one of the best of England's statesmen.

We remember Dalriada, the kingdom in the West founded by the Scots from Ireland, and how it joined with Pictland to form Alban and Scotland. Hitherto, however, its subjection to the Scottish kings had been little more than nominal; it had a kind of practical independence under its own lords, or "kings," who bore the name *Somerled.* In two expeditions Alexander II. subdued this wild, misty region of mountain and sea loch, and put it under a royal officer called a sheriff, though he was wise enough to leave some power and dignity to the house of Somerled.

Scandinavian Caithness and Celtic Moray were next made to feel the king's hand and heel. Caithness was in some sort always wavering between the Scandinavian Earl of Orkney and the king of Scots, the power of the latter being represented by the bishops. In Alexander's reign

a bishop was outraged and murdered by the Caithness folk, and the king went north and punished the region severely. He took the same course in Moray where revolts occurred. Galloway too had to be sternly dealt with.

In 1234 its "lord" Alan (whose personality we ought to grasp firmly) died, leaving three daughters, one of whom, the Lady Devorgilla, has a great place in British history. The men of Galloway (still wild Celts, far from and hostile to the Anglo-Norman civilisation flowing over Scotland from the south-east) asked King Alexander to rule them closely, for they feared the joint rule of Devorgilla and her sisters. The king — we know not why — refused, and Galloway rebelled and had to be put down by force.

Lord, on the whole, within his own territories, and encompassed only by the Scandinavian power in the islands from Shetland to Man, Alexander, in spite of the marriage tie with England, twice got into trouble with his great southern neighbour.

The first time was in 1236, and this time England began. Henry III. wanted to recover the feudal superiority which Henry II. had secured by the Treaty of Falaise. Alexander's resistance was accompanied by a demand for the old debatable border land. War was averted, and in 1237 a compromise settled by what is known as the Treaty of York. Once more the Scottish king gave up all claim to political rule over the northern counties, and in exchange he got the territorial lordship of large estates in the coveted countries, which, under the name of Tynedale and Penrith, were numbered among the possessions of the Scottish kings for many a long day. This treaty was really the final end of the struggle for the North which grew out of the connection between Waltheof and the Scottish kings.

The second occasion of friction was in 1242. A great quarrel broke out between two Scottish magnates, Athol

and Bisset, and Alexander was obliged to punish Bisset by exile and forfeiture of his lands. Bisset went to the English court and stirred up bad blood. Things looked black for a time. Alexander's first wife, Henry's sister, was dead, and he had taken a second wife from France. This alienated him from his brother-in-law, and there was a mustering of forces near the frontiers. Another treaty at Newcastle (1244) enforced the *status quo.*

We remember that the islands to the north and west of Scotland, including the Isle of Man in the Irish Sea, formed a separate group, owning allegiance to the king of Norway. It was certain that the tendencies to Scottish extension and unity would sooner or later expel the Scandinavian power from those islands, and already the Scottish kings were making claims which in the future would have to be substantiated. The islands were divided into the Nordereys and the Sudereys, the Nordereys including only Orkney and Shetland; and Alexander II. met his death in the course of an attempt to win the Sudereys for Scotland. He died in 1249 in the island of Kerrera in the bay of Oban, and the struggle for the lordship of the islands was put off.

Alexander II.'s son, a child of eight, succeeded him as Alexander III. In his reign Scotland went on working out her destiny, and she enjoyed a good deal of real prosperity and peace. But she did those things under rather new conditions, of which we must now take careful note.

First, let us bear in mind that the independence of the Scottish Church prepared the way for the independence of the Scottish State. We remember how much the English Church tried to keep a headship over the Scottish, and how Scotland managed to resist the attempts, often by playing off Canterbury and York against one another.

In 1218 Pope Honorius III. confirmed the independence of the northern Church, and in 1225 it was made

possible for Church councils to meet in Scotland under a "Conservator" of their own. All this made for the strength of Scotland as a whole.

The unity of Scotland under Alexander III. was worked out chiefly by the antagonism of magnates and parties. Certain of the great Scottish lords now became very prominent. Some of them were ministers of state, some were only great landowners; some were Celtic, some were Anglo-Norman. Conspicuous among them was Alan Durward—*i.e.* Alan the Doorward, or door-keeper, or warder, of the palace, who was High Justiciary. His wife was an illegitimate daughter of Alexander II., and he thought much of himself. Then there was Fitzalan, the Steward of the kingdom, whose descendants were to be the Steward, or Stewart, dynasty of Scottish kings. There was Walter Comyn, the Earl of Menteith, the feudal lord of a large district in the south of the present Perthshire. There was Bruce, lord of Annandale in the present Dumfriesshire and of Carrick in the present Ayrshire. Lastly, there was Balliol, who was to ally himself with the House of Galloway and to have his name associated with the most critical chapter of Scottish history.

For the present the most prominent of those magnates were Alan Durward and Comyn, Earl of Menteith. They were rivals, and to a great extent represented rival policies; and their rivalry was serious owing to the youth and inexperience of the king. Each sought for a preponderating influence over the king, while their quest for power suggested to the English king and his councillors the desirability of a quest on his own account. On the whole, Comyn and his party were aiming at Scottish independence, Durward and his at feudal dependence on England. At first Comyn's party prevailed. But the attraction of England was very disturbing, and at last it threw power into the hands of Durward. Alexander took to wife Margaret, daughter of Henry III. Henry wished him

to do homage for Scotland and not only for his estates in England, but the youth was astute enough to parry the demand. But Henry, as far as his preoccupations and feebleness of character would allow, was bent on subjecting Scotland as Henry II. had subjected it, and the Durward party worked to his hands. In 1255 a serious situation arose. The Durward party was strong; among others there were associated with them the Bruce of the day and Alexander Fitzalan, the Steward. Alexander III. was still only fourteen; a regency was still, therefore, essential. The Durward party seized the boy-king and girl-queen and shut them up in Edinburgh Castle; Henry III. crossed the border, and in Kelso Abbey he was appointed for seven years "Principal Counsellor to the Illustrious King of Scotland." Under the English king there was appointed a regency of twenty-one chosen from the Durward party.

But the seven years were not allowed to run, for now Comyn's party pushed to the front and made it their aim to rescue not only the king but Scottish independence from the English trammels. Like the Durward party, they used force in their turn. In 1257 the Durward Regency were excommunicated by the clergy in Cambuskenneth Abbey, which looks across to Stirling Castle. Then Menteith seized the king while he slept at Kinross, and carried him into ward at Stirling. It was a rebuff to the Durwards, and it was a victory for what we may venture to call the national party in Scotland. But the interference of England was by no means at an end.

In 1261 Alexander paid a visit to his father-in-law in London. The Comyn national party were angry because they knew there was diplomacy behind the move, and the king, now close on twenty-one, was allowed to go only on condition that no politics should be talked during his visit. In the following year his queen bore a daughter, afterwards wife of the king of Norway.

In the following year, 1263, one of the decisive events

of Scottish history occurred; one of the most momentous stages in Scottish development was reached. It was decided that Scotland and not Norway was to rule the ring of islands off the western coast of Scotland, and including the Isle of Man. Alexander II. died, we remember, at Kerrera, in Oban Bay, having failed to bring about this result. It was brought about now by a treaty following on a battle, and on this wise:

In 1262, just after his English visit and in the year of his daughter's birth, Alexander proposed to Hakon, king of Norway, to give up the islands to him by peaceful negotiation. Hakon responded by imprisoning Alexander's envoys, and in the following year he brought a fleet and visited the islands one after another, from Orkney to Man, reasserting his superiority over them. In the Firth of Clyde his fleet was overtaken by a storm, and near the village of Largs the Scottish forces fell on the Norwegians and routed them. King Hakon died soon after in Orkney on his way back to Norway.

Such was the Battle of Largs in 1263; and its effect was to shatter for ever Scandinavian power in the Hebrides and Man. The king of Man (as he was called) submitted to Alexander at Dumfries, and the Hebrides were easily subdued. In 1266 all the islands (except Orkney and Shetland, which remained Scandinavian) became Scottish, the Scottish king paying to Eric, king of Norway, a large sum of money for the sovereignty. It was a natural and satisfactory result, and it was suitably ratified afterwards when Eric of Norway took to wife the daughter of Alexander of Scotland.

Under Alexander III. the Scottish Church, like the English Church, had hard work to keep the Papacy in check. The Popes made frequent demands for money for their various enterprises on the Continent which it needed a great deal of firmness to resist; but on two occasions Alexander did resist successfully. On another

occasion, in 1275, an exaction was made for the Crusade of St Louis, and the Pope's agent insisted that it should be computed on a new valuation of property, which made it much harder. This new valuation was called "Bagimont's Roll," after the corrupted name of the Papal agent, Baiamund de Vicci.

The rest of Alexander's reign over his extended dominions was prosperous, and Scotland had her last hour of peace for many a day. Only the succession to the Crown was a cloud in the sky. Alexander III. had three children, but two sons died one after another. His daughter, the queen of Norway, died before him, leaving an infant daughter, Margaret, known as "the Maid of Norway," as heiress of the Scottish throne. To this child Alexander made his magnates swear allegiance at once. He married again in 1285, but he never had another child.

Another fateful moment dawned for Scotland when Edward I. began to reign in England in 1272. In 1278 Alexander went to do homage for his English possessions to the new king. It is said (but the evidence is hazy) that Edward tried to make him do homage for his Scottish kingdom and that Alexander replied that for that he would do homage to God alone.

In 1286 as Alexander was going home to his queen at Kinghorn, in Fife, and riding on horseback along the cliff, his horse stumbled and threw his rider, and the king was taken up dead. It was the end of an epoch as well as of a single life, and Scotland was ready for her baptism of blood and fire. At the moment she seemed as prosperous as England—well-nigh as prosperous as any European land. She had expelled the foreigners; she was on terms of independent alliance with England; her Church stood on its own feet; she had trade and commerce and orderly government. Yet when Alexander III.'s horse made its fatal stumble on the Kinghorn cliff men felt that all the

good had given place to ill. The change is written in a fragment of traditional verse:

> "When Alysandyr oure Kyng was dede,
> That Scotland led in love and le,
> Away wes sons of Ale and Brede,
> Of wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle;
> Oure Gold wes changyd into lede;
> Chryst, born into Virgyngté,
> Succour Scotland, and remede
> That stad is in perplexyté."

CHAPTER VI

SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND. THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE 1286-1328

THE forty-two years with which this chapter will be concerned have two great features which came to dwarf all others in Scottish history. These features are—(1) the relations between Scotland and England; (2) a definite and lasting alliance between Scotland and France.

We cannot in studying Scottish history think too much or too carefully about both these things. Until the Reformation (itself, as we have seen, in some sort a piece of French influence) came to Scotland like a destroying wave of warm water to change the face of things, the whole fortunes of the country were ruled by its relations to England on the one hand and to France on the other. We have already seen how much influence the relations to England have had; how constant a tendency there was on the part of the English kings to make Scotland a subject kingdom of some sort; how unwilling the Scottish kings were to gratify that desire; how much fighting there was for the north of England; and how sometimes friendly relations were secured by marriage alliances. But from this time onward to the year 1707 Scotland cannot be said to have had any existence apart from England at all. Soon after 1286 she drifted into regular *hostility against England*, hostility which, sometimes interrupted, but oftener deepening into bloody and desolating strife, went on until 1559. This was followed by an *attraction between Scotland and England* which, often in-

terrupted and often misunderstood, but always becoming more and more real and important, at last brought about the Union of the Parliaments in 1707. Throughout the whole period of hostility—*i.e.* from about 1290 to 1559—Scotland was the close ally of France, joining her in her great struggle with England, learning from her much of her civilisation, and never seeming nearer to her than just before the other attraction overcame her in 1559. Let us now return to our story, which will show the truth of what has just been said.

When Alexander III. died Scotsmen had good reason to fear the future. The situation was one to test the manhood and patriotism of the Scottish nobility. The heir to the Crown was a female child, the daughter of the distant king and queen of Norway. It was therefore necessary to have a regency, and the great question was: How would the Scottish magnates behave as regents? Would they, like the Comyn party and the Durward party, fight among themselves and push each his own interest, or would they combine to help the girl-queen and guard the independence of their land?

Six Guardians were appointed, not to sit as a board at Edinburgh or some other central place, but to act as local governors in different districts. Three were to rule north of the Forth and three south of it. There were two bishops, Frazer of St Andrews and Wishart of Glasgow; and four feudal lords, the Earl of Fife; Comyn, Earl of Buchan; another Comyn, Lord of Badenoch; and James Fitzalan, the Steward of Scotland. Very soon Fife was murdered and Buchan died; and all power north of the Forth was in the hands of the bishop of St Andrews.

Much more important than the regents were some other lords of Scottish lands, especially those Norman lords who had also lands in England, such as Bruce of Annandale and Carrick, and Balliol. They were important, not only because they were feudal lords, not only because they

owed a double allegiance—namely, to the king of England as well as to the king of Scotland—but because among them were the presumptive heirs to the Scottish throne. Who those heirs, or at least claimants, were, and how they came to be such, we shall see presently; meanwhile what we have to note is that the rivalries of the great lords with their double allegiance suggested to Edward I. of England that he might reassert the claim of his Crown to feudal superiority over that of Scotland.

But, first of all, Edward interfered in another way, a way which gave satisfaction to all parties. The child-queen was too young to leave Norway, and in 1289 King Eric sent messengers, not to the Scottish Guardians, but to the English king. This gave Edward an advantage which he was quick to use. He had a son (afterwards Edward II.). Why should the two children not be betrothed to one another? He had thought of this before, and had already got from the Pope a licence for their marriage in spite of the fact that Edward and Margaret were first cousins. He asked the Guardians to send some of their number to meet the Norwegian ambassadors and commissioners of his own, and a conference of the three parties was held at Salisbury. It was there decided (among other arrangements about the Maid of Norway) that she should not be married without the consent of the English king. Soon after Edward made his project known, and the Scots were delighted. A formal treaty was made at Brigham, or Birgham, near Berwick, in July 1290, by which not only was the marriage fully arranged but the relations between England and Scotland were defined. The two kingdoms were to be independent, "saving the right of the King of England in the marches or elsewhere." Edward evidently thought that this "saving clause" covered a good deal, for he appointed the bishop of Durham as his lieutenant in Scotland, and asked (though in vain) that the command of the Scottish

fortresses should be put into his hands. Then happened a tragedy which brought the clouds rushing down on Scotland and gave Edward the chance of appearing as a saviour of society.

In September 1290 the Maid of Norway was despatched across the sea to find her bridegroom and her throne; but she became violently ill, probably from sea sickness, on the voyage, and the ship put in at the Orkneys, only that the Maid might die. Here was an end to the marriage project; here was the certainty of a fierce fight for the succession; here also was the English king's supreme opportunity.

To understand who were the chief claimants (for there were too many in all for us to get to know) to the Scottish throne we must remind ourselves that David I. had a third grandson besides King Malcolm the Maiden, and King William the Lion—namely, David, Earl of Huntingdon. The lines through Malcolm and William and the Alexanders being extinct, Scotland had to fall back on the line of David the Earl. It is this Earl David and three of his daughters whom we must clearly see in our mind's eye if we are to understand the troublesome matter of the Scottish succession. The earl married two of his daughters to very important Scottish magnates. The elder, Margaret, married Alan, the Celtic lord of Galloway; the younger, Isabel, married Robert Bruce, the Anglo- and Scoto-Norman lord of Annandale. Margaret and Alan had a daughter called Dervorgoil, or Devorgilla, who became the wife of another great Anglo-Norman lord, John Balliol. Devorgilla (a famous lady who founded Balliol College at Oxford and Sweetheart Abbey, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright) and her husband had a son, John Balliol, who, being the great-grandson of Earl David and great-great-great-grandson of David I., now claimed the Scottish Crown with much plausibility.

But Isabel and Robert Bruce had a son—in 1290 an old

man—who, though the child of a younger daughter of Earl David, could, and did, claim the Crown because he was a *grandson* and not a great-grandson of the earl, and therefore a great-great-grandson of David I., one step nearer to him than Balliol.

Balliol and Bruce were the two chief competitors, but we ought also to remember two others out of the many. We remember the Comyns, lords of Menteith and Badenoch, and how they led a kind of national Scottish party in the reign of Alexander III. One of them, also descended from Earl David, now claimed the Crown on the ground of descent from King Donald Bane, son of Duncan! Yet again we must remember that Earl David had three daughters and that we have not yet said anything about the third. Her name was Ada, and she became the wife of John of Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny. Their grandson now appeared as a competitor, claiming a right, however, only to one-third of the kingdom, the two other thirds to go to Balliol and Bruce.

So stood the matter in 1291 after the mournful death of the Maid of Norway in the previous autumn. What was the connection of Edward of England with the whole affair?

We remember that two of the six Guardians of Scotland were dead. The only Guardian north of Forth was Bishop Frazer of St Andrews, and after the Maid's death he wrote to King Edward, telling of the hapless plight of the land, and asking the English king to help. There is no evidence that anybody else in Scotland wanted Edward's intervention, but one invitation was enough for a king who had already shown that he wished to subject Scotland to his rule. He called a conference of Scottish clergy and lay magnates, as well as barons from the north of England, to meet him at Norham, on the English side of Tweed, in May 1291. The English barons were to come three weeks later than the Scottish contingent, and so the feel-

ings of the Scots were respected. The conference was a very grand and formal one; there was present a notary of the Holy Roman Empire to minute all the proceedings. However, only one thing happened, but it was a staggering thing. Edward claimed to act at the conference as *superior, or overlord, of the kingdom of Scotland.* The Scots were so staggered that they could give no answer to the claim, and the conference was accordingly adjourned for three weeks. When it met again the sittings were on the Scottish side of the Tweed, opposite the castle of Norham. Would the Scottish envoys admit the superiority of the English king? In the interval between the meetings the "Communitas" of Scotland (whatever that may mean) had said something about the matter which the English considered was not to the point. Unfortunately that "pointless" answer has been lost. The magnates, including eight of the candidates, answered as Edward wished, and the superiority of England was established.

Thus was settled an all-important preliminary of the business. What remained was for the lord superior to choose a king for Scotland out of the band of claimants. This he proceeded to do with great care, as a judge gives his judgment after hearing the pleadings and arguments of one party after another. A great court, in fact, was set up; there were 104 commissioners—40 named by Balliol and Comyn between them, 24 by Bruce, and 40 by the lord superior, King Edward. The conference was adjourned to let the claimants prepare their pleadings, and meanwhile Edward took over all the Scottish fortresses (as he had tried to do the year before), and went north as far as Perth, making good his superiority. He spoke of the two countries as now "united."

In August 1291 the conference was resumed, this time in the castle of Berwick, and the pleadings of the various claimants were heard. Once more there was an adjourn-

ment till June 1292. In the meantime the 104 were considering, and in June they reported to the English Parliament. Again hesitation and delay, again apparent reluctance on Edward's part to act hastily, again the certainty that Edward's intervention could not be dispensed with. At last a decisive meeting was held at Berwick in October. It was settled, first of all, that the law applicable to the case must be made by King Edward from a kind of combination of English and Scottish law. Again the commissioners were consulted; according to the Scottish authorities in a way not very fair to the Scots. Anyhow, Edward arrived easily at his decision. The kingdom of Scotland *being a dependent fief of England*, ought to be treated like an ordinary feudal estate. As such it was indivisible; therefore the claim of Hastings could not be admitted. As between Balliol and Bruce, the advantage on feudal principles clearly lay with the former as being the descendant of an elder daughter. Nobody called this reasoning in question, and in November 1292, in the hall of Berwick Castle, Edward pronounced that by the laws of England and Scotland John Balliol was the lawful head of the kingdom of Scotland. The Great Seal of Scotland was then broken in four pieces, which were laid away in the English treasury; John Balliol swore homage to Edward; and, by a special warrant of permission, he was crowned at Scone on 30th November 1292.

The reign of John Balliol (if we may call it a reign) lasted four years (1292-1296). So far as the king could be held to represent the kingdom and to carry it with him Scotland was now completely subject to England; that seemed to be the outcome of Scotland's civilisation and training in the centuries gone by. But the nobles only were with the king, the classes below them had been for centuries training for something very different, and the world was soon to know it. Scotland's destiny was indeed

union with England; only in that was her civilisation, her prosperity, to find completion. But the Scotland which could, without loss of national self-respect, at last unite with England had yet to show England and the world, and had yet to learn fully for herself, that she was not a feudal estate, to be dealt with according to the will of a lawyer-like superior, but a *nation*, with a nation's purpose and a nation's power.

The events of the next ten years showed plainly that Balliol had not carried the Scottish people with him into feudal subjection.

To do Edward I. justice (and it is particularly necessary for patriotic Scots to try to do him justice) one must say that his chief object in dealing with Scotland was not to treat it as if it were merely a large estate in land. On the contrary, he seems to have sincerely wished to *unite* the two countries for the benefit of both. He probably realised, very much as the statesmen of the eighteenth century realised, that only by *incorporation* with England—*i.e.* by subjection to the same government and participation in the same benefits and privileges—could Scotland really prosper. But Edward made two mistakes which were fatal to the success of his better ideas—he treated the matter like a feudal lawyer, and he attempted incorporation before Scotland was nearly ready for it. For neither mistake was he very seriously to blame; but the two taken together brought as much misery to Scotland as if Edward had really been the mere tyrant and oppressor which he is often supposed to have been. One of the greatest difficulties in the way of incorporation was the *legal* one. According to feudal arrangements Edward of England was the supreme judge of disputes arising in Scotland. But in Scotland the laws had not been systematised as they had been in England, and jealousy and confusion were inevitable, though, as a matter of fact, the laws of the two countries were, at this time, not very

different, destined, as they were, to move further and further apart as time went on. In 1291 Edward had recognised this difference, and the Treaty of Brigham provided that no native of Scotland should be required to plead to any suit, civil or criminal, out of the realm. But after the "Award of Norham" and the formal subjection of Balliol Edward made up his mind to assert the legal supremacy of the English courts, and he got Balliol to renounce the Treaty of Brigham. So many of the Scottish magnates—Balliol himself, the Bruces, and others—were magnates of England as well, that it was the easier for Edward to retain a judicial appeal.

The question soon became a burning one. In one case after another appeal was made to the Supreme Court of the lord superior; in one case, in which Balliol himself was involved, the subject king was summoned before the superior and sharply reproved and threatened.

Another difficulty of the situation was the military obligation involved in feudal subjection. Edward had a right to the military services of his vassals; would the vassal kingdom of the Scots consent to follow his banner when he chose to summon it? In 1294 the question was decided in a manner fateful for both lands. Edward was about to go to war with his feudal superior, King Philip the Fair of France, and he called on the Scots to send their share of money and men. No better test could have been devised to try the Scottish temper and to show that, if incorporation was to happen, it could not happen in Edward's way. A great meeting (called a "Parliament" in some accounts) was held at Scone, at which a flag of Scottish independence was plainly unfurled. The Scots not only refused the demand of King Edward, but resolved to banish all Englishmen from the court and from Scotland all landowners who were not of Scottish blood. Even the Bruces had to go from Annandale. It was "Scotland for the Scots."

Nor was this all. A permanent "Standing Committee" of twelve—a kind of Council of State—consisting of Scottish bishops, earls, and barons, was appointed to manage Scottish affairs.

In the following year this committee proved the reality of its power by taking one of the most decisive steps in Scottish history. An offensive and defensive alliance was made between King John of Scotland and King Philip the Fair of France in 1295. The particulars of the treaty, as well as the mere fact that it was made, show the stage which had been reached by Scottish national feeling. It was a treaty between two independent states on equal terms, and no mere bargain between two kings. On the Scottish side the parties to it were the prelates, the earls, the barons, and the communities of the towns. The towns of Aberdeen, Perth, Stirling, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Berwick appended their seals to the treaty. John Balliol's son, Edward, was to marry the niece of Philip of France. The king of France was to protect Scotland against England, and the king of Scots engaged to invade England during Edward's absence in France.

By the treaty of 1295 the die was cast for Scotland. Nobody could then know that England was within half-a-century of her great hundred years' struggle with France. Nobody knew that what was done between John Balliol and Philip the Fair would make Scotland France's friend and England's enemy during the whole of that struggle and much longer. Yet so it was. England and Scotland had quarrelled, a thing that had never happened before. They had quarrelled, and for the moment Edward's course was plain. He had to enter Scotland as an enemy and to leave it, if he could, as a conqueror.

Conquest this time was not difficult. The Scots had fulfilled their treaty obligation by invading the north of England, and Edward determined to crush them mightily. He moved northward with a large force—30,000 infantry

and 5000 cavalry—and besieged and took Berwick-on-Tweed, putting its inhabitants to a merciless massacre, causing them to fall "like autumn leaves." John Balliol renounced his allegiance, but his resistance was feverish and weak. Edward went on through Scotland, and castle after castle fell into his hands. A battle was fought at Dunbar, in which the Scots were worsted, and Edward took Edinburgh and Perth on his way by Aberdeen to Elgin. There he halted, his conquest being complete. As he passed through Forfarshire he received the formal renunciation of John Balliol at the churchyard of Stracathro on 7th July. Balliol and his son were sent to England as prisoners; later they were allowed to go to Balliol's estates in France.

To all appearance Edward's first conquest of Scotland was a solid one. He received the personal homage of a large number of magnates, clerical and lay, and afterwards the formal allegiance of the whole people. He took back with him to England as symbols of his victory the Stone of Destiny (said to have been the stone which Jacob used for a pillow), on which the Scottish kings were wont to be crowned, and also the Holy Rood, or supposed portion of the true cross, which Scotland reverenced as her holiest thing.

Edward had to frame a constitution, or system of government, for his conquest. In doing so he made no attempt to consult Scottish feelings. On the other hand, however, it may be said that he made no attempt to outrage them. He did not destroy the existing arrangements, but he took care that the castles should be in English hands, and he put Englishmen into the three chief posts of the Scottish executive. Warrenne, the Earl of Surrey, was made guardian, or governor; Hugh of Cressingham, treasurer; and William of Ormsby, justiciar.

Edward must have been glad to get Scottish affairs settled somehow, for he had great difficulties on his hands

in England. He had quarrels both with his clergy and his baronage, and he was at war with France. He was soon undeceived as to the stability of the Scottish settlement. The rule of the English ministers aroused much discontent, and especially that of Ormsby, the justiciar. From early in 1297 rebellion threatened. We know few particulars for certain; we only know that no class of Scottish society was content, and that, as the spring grew into summer, a mysterious William le Walys, or Wallace, showed himself as a leader of national resistance. Wallace was the son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Elderslie, in Renfrewshire, and belonged to a family of knightly landowners there. He had no relations with the great magnates. It is very difficult to see the real Wallace through the mists of prejudice which surround him. To English contemporaries he appeared little more than a hardy brigand or guerilla chief, for whom no punishment could be too great. In Scottish tradition he is a hero of romance, the God-given, God-inspired deliverer of an oppressed people, gigantic in strength, preternatural in bravery, foully done to death by a tyrant. He probably partook of both characters, for in those days they were by no means irreconcilable. Anyhow, in the year 1297 he brought Scottish resistance to a point, and won a great victory for its arms. He set himself against the English element in the government. In May he slew an English official at Lanark, and turned Ormsby, the justiciar, out of his court at Scone. Separate fires of revolt broke out in different parts of Scotland, and Wallace moved about from one place to another fanning the flames. He seems to have been supported by the smaller gentry rather than by the magnates, who were more easily terrified into submission. Wallace got many strongholds back into Scottish hands, and then, in the end of the summer, Warrenne and Cressingham became seriously alarmed and set an English force in motion northwards. Edward was by this time out of England, at Ghent. Wallace, who

had had much success in the North and was now besieging the castle of Dundee on the Tay, hurried south to prevent the English from crossing the Forth by the fateful bridge of Stirling. He posted his force on the ridge of Cambuskenneth, to the north of Stirling, and awaited the advance of the English to the bridge. The English streamed across the narrow bridge, and still the Scots waited. Then with great skill they swept round the English and seized the Stirling end of the bridge. In numbers they were at least the equals of the English, so, holding both ends of the bridge, they had the enemy in their hands. The English defeat was complete, and Cressingham was among the slain.

For the moment Wallace was master of Scotland, and he showed his power partly by invading the north of England and partly by organising a military government of the whole land. He took the official title of "guardian of the kingdom of Scotland and leader of its armies in the name of the illustrious King John, with the consent of the community." He and a colleague, Andrew de Moray, wrote a letter to the Hanse Towns, Lübeck and Hamburg, in which they spoke of the kingdom of Scotland as having been recovered by war from the power of the English.

In the nature of things the recovery could as yet be but temporary. The national feeling which Wallace had led to victory was fresh and untried; it had not yet a solid social structure to justify it and make it permanent. After all, Stirling Bridge was but one battle, and it was lost by bad generalship. Edward was coming back in the spring, and then there would be a fresh conquest.

That was what actually happened. In June 1298 Edward entered on his *second* and *slow* conquest of Scotland. It had not gone far before he won a victory which more than made up for the defeat at Stirling. Once more issue was joined in the central valley of the Forth. The Scots retired before Edward's large army, leaving

starvation behind them, and the English moved northwards from the Tweed to near Edinburgh. The two armies met at Falkirk, on the low lands on the Forth between Stirling and Edinburgh. A great battle was fought—famous among battles on account of the use, for the first time exclusively made, of the long bow—in which the Scots were utterly routed.

As a check to the development of Scottish nationhood the battle of Falkirk was decisive. Wallace disappeared from Scottish history and even from Scotland; and with him the cause which he represented sank out of sight. Yet on the other hand the battle only began, and in no sense completed, the English conquest. Not only anti-English feeling, but actual Scottish power, still prevailed in Scotland, and the Scottish fortresses had to be got back for England one by one by hard labour. This was the task that lay before Edward, and it was carried out with many long pauses. Scotland remained in nominal enjoyment of the independence won at Cambuskenneth. She still had guardians: John Comyn, John de Soulis, Bruce, Earl of Carrick; and Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews. Edward was much engrossed by English affairs; now was the time for Scotland to make what she could of her French alliance. Both France and the Papacy tried to do something for her. Wallace seems to have gone to France after Falkirk, and France gained two truces for the combatants. Pope Boniface VIII., one of the most energetic and arrogant of all the Popes, interfered in a more doubtful way by claiming the special headship of the Scottish people, a claim which in his case would have been pressed with a really galling force. Fortunately (we may say) for Scotland it directly conflicted with Edward's claim, and by him it was firmly rejected.

Edward's slow second conquest went on until 1305. Nearly every year he entered Scotland and gained some point. In 1300 he took the important fortress of Caer-

laverock on the Solway, which opened the south of Scotland to him. By 1303 (in spite of a defeat at Roslin, near Edinburgh) he had subdued the whole of the Lowlands, and in 1304 the whole government of Scotland surrendered.

The last fortress to yield to the conquest was Stirling, which gave in in July 1304.

Then Edward did a discreditable and cruel thing. To the members of the old Scottish government he was lenient, but Wallace, the national hero, he treated as if he were wholly the brigand he partly was. He hunted for him as for a malefactor, and when he was caught and given up, with or without treachery, by Sir John de Monteith, sheriff of Dumbarton, he was taken to London, tried in Westminster Hall, found guilty of high treason, and put to death accordingly. He was disembowelled, and his body was cut into four quarters, the parts being shown up to public scorn at Newcastle, Berwick, Stirling, and Perth.

We cannot be sure why Edward was so hard on Wallace; perhaps because of his unwavering resistance; perhaps because of his trafficking with France and the Pope; perhaps because of his savage border raids. Otherwise Edward was not cruel in this his second hour of victory. He tried to treat Scotland as well as he knew how to; he tried, this time, to make it genuinely and completely one with England; he anticipated, in 1305, the achievements of 1654 and 1707; his mistake (and it was fatal) was his failure to realise that the time was not ripe.

He set to work like the great lawyer he was, and at least spared no pains. He was himself to be the direct king of Scotland, having only a lieutenant under him. There was to be a council composed of prominent Scots; there were to be ten representatives in the English Parliament; there were to be more justiciars and sheriffs. In all this Edward showed much regard for Scottish national feeling. As to the burning question of Scottish law, he

condemned to abolition only such customs as were "contrary to God and reason."

It was all admirable; Edward deserves for it nothing but praise. But the idea of political independence had been roused among Scotsmen, and it could not be charmed away by the best of schemes. Balliol was exiled, and Wallace was slain; but there was one Scoto-Norman magnate ready to give independence another chance and to fight for it with success.

In February 1306 Robert Bruce, the lord of Annandale, grandson of Balliol's most formidable competitor for the Crown, stole away from King Edward's court and began to ride towards Scotland in the disguise of a groom. The Bruces, as we know, had long been territorial magnates in Scotland; the lands of Carrick, in Ayrshire, as well as those of Annandale, in Dumfriesshire, being held by this family.* Young Robert had been made much of by Edward, and kept at his court during his youth; but though the English king's wisdom could unite England and Scotland it could not extinguish Bruce's ambition. Why should not Scottish independence be revived and led to lasting triumph? Why should not that which had been done but for a moment by Wallace be done for ever by Bruce? Balliol was beyond the pale of practical politics, and only one rival, John Comyn, "the Red Comyn," could plausibly contest with Bruce the Scottish kingship if it were at this point to be revived.

With the Red Comyn Bruce made short work. Hurriedly he rode northwards over snowy ground; instead of going at once to his castle of Lochmaben he turned aside to Dumfries, where the English judges were holding their assize, and Comyn was with them as guardian. Bruce and Comyn met in the church of the Grey Friars at Dumfries; a dispute arose, and Bruce stabbed Comyn.

* The claimant's son, the father of the future king, married the heiress of the earls of Carrick.

For Bruce's immediate fortunes this murder was a most unhappy event. Done in a holy place, it was sacrilege, and thus it led to the excommunication of the murderer, and perforce alienated the clergy.

Comyn, King Edward's guardian of Scotland, being dead by Bruce's hand, Bruce was a rebel against his lord superior. The rebellion spread fast in Scotland, and soon the old deadly strife was blazing between the two lands which had just been made nominally one. Edward quickly got forces ready for the work of reconquest, and it was none too soon. Robert Bruce was crowned king of the Scots at Scone on the 27th of March, and Edward's work was all undone.

Yet the undoing was to prove, as Edward's last conquest had been, slow and piecemeal. Bruce's coronation, in truth, was but a premature symbol of a slowly and painfully-won kingship. For a long time Bruce had but a very small following, and Aymer de Valence easily defeated it in June 1306 at Methven, in Perthshire. Yet that victory counted for very little, for the only man who could have turned it to lasting account was about to disappear. It was only Edward I. who could have made English rule in Scotland possible, and Edward I. was dying. He was deeply enraged by Bruce's revolt, and he made preparations for a great invasion of Scotland. He was too feeble to ride, and was carried in a litter at the head of his host. By March 1307 he was at Carlisle, within sight of the Scottish hills. He waited there until June, then, in a final flash of seeming strength, he mounted a horse and rode towards the Solway. But before he left English soil he died, at Burgh-by-Sands, in Cumberland. The Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward II., was with him. The father bequeathed to the son the legacy of vengeance against Scotland. It is said that he ordered his own bones to be carried over before the host. But the new king was to prove himself as useless as the bones would have been

if the survivor had performed his father's grisly behest. Edward II. did nothing to restore English power in Scotland, and he allowed his great enemy to win one of the decisive victories in the history of the world.

Bruce, the crowned king, had now to conquer Scotland bit by bit, and to carry it through the splendid hour of Bannockburn to a complete and acknowledged independence; Scotland was still nominally governed by English lieutenants, and Bruce had many enemies among the Scottish magnates. But after Edward I.'s death his success was steady. The clergy forgot the murder of Comyn; partly by love, partly by fear, the magnates were overcome. Fortress after fortress fell into his hands. Opposition died away from year to year. The whole Scottish Church came round to Bruce. In 1314 the castle of Edinburgh fell.

And now we must give all our thought to Stirling and its fortress—that sensitive centre of the Scottish nerve force. It was still in English hands, and in the autumn of 1313 King Robert's brother, Edward Bruce, was besieging it. The governor of the castle, Sir Philip de Mowbray, promised to give it up on St John the Baptist's Day, 24th June, in the following year, 1314, if it were not relieved before.

Probably the English thought it would be difficult to relieve it; anyhow, they made very great efforts in preparation. Both sides knew that the fight which must take place near its walls would be a decisive one. Edward II. collected a great army from Wales, Ireland, and Aquitaine, as well as from England. He meant to overwhelm Bruce if he could, thinking lightly of the force he could muster in opposition, and it is said that 100,000 men made the invasion. That may be untrue, as it may be untrue that the Scottish army numbered 40,000, but there is good ground for thinking that the English army was about twice as numerous as the Scottish. On came the vast force, crossing the border at Berwick and entering Edinburgh.

Then they turned westward up the valley of the Forth towards Falkirk and Stirling.

In order to avoid the loop of the Forth they had to keep to the southward so as to reach the castle, and Bruce, realising this, took up his position to the north of the route by which the English must pass. It was on undulating ground, protected partly by a stream called the Bannock Burn and partly by boggy ground, embarrassing to the movements of horsemen. In order to make it still more embarrassing Bruce directed pits to be dug, which were covered and concealed by boughs of trees.

St John's Day fell on a Monday, and early in the morning the great English force delivered its attack. The Bannock Burn flowed between the armies, and in order to cross at a practicable point the English had to charge on the Scottish front. Their horsemen were much disabled by the pitfalls; the rain of arms, usually so deadly, on this occasion failed of its effect. The Scots were hardly shaken by the onset, and the English bowmen were destroyed almost to a man. Then it seemed to the English as if a fresh Scottish host were advancing, and they broke and fled in disorder of utter rout. King Edward tried to find safety in Stirling Castle, but the governors advised him to make for his own land. He therefore rode hard for Dunbar, pursued all the way by Sir James Douglas. At Dunbar he took boat for England.

The battle of Bannockburn is the greatest event in Scottish history before the Reformation. It wrought much evil and much good. The evil that it did was to embitter feeling between Scots and English and to delay for centuries the union which Edward I. had nearly accomplished and which alone could bring to Scotland prosperity and peace. The good that it did was to encourage the development of that separate Scottish national character and feeling which has so greatly enriched the world both by thought and action. The whole of Scottish history

really turns on the relative strength of the two tendencies —the tendency towards some kind of incorporation with England, and the tendency to draw back into proud independence. By its tremendous decisiveness Bannockburn enormously strengthened the latter tendency.

In spite of the decisiveness of the battle it was fourteen years before Scotland reaped her reward of full independence. Edward II. could never bring himself to recognise Robert Bruce as an equal sovereign, and Scotland would be content with nothing short of such a recognition. So the old weary work of border raids, indecisive battles, and laborious diplomacy had to go on as long as Edward II. sat on the throne.

Bruce's hold on his kingdom in no way depended, of course, on the acknowledgment of England. The succession to the throne was carefully provided for. Bruce's heir was his daughter Marjory, the wife of Walter Fitzalan, the Steward of Scotland. It was provided that, in default of male heirs of King Robert, Marjory would waive her claim and that the succession should pass to the king's brother Edward and his sons. Three years later Edward Bruce died in battle in Ireland. The Lady Marjory was dead, leaving a son. It was accordingly settled that this son of Walter the Steward should be king of the Scots if King Robert had no son. It is important to fix this in one's memory. Before his death Robert married again, and had a son, afterwards the unhappy King David II. But with him the line of the Bruces came to an end, and the Crown passed to Robert, son of Walter the Steward and Marjory Bruce. Robert II., of the family of the Stewards, or Stewarts, was the first of that famous line.

The year after Bannockburn Bruce subdued the western isles, and thus the Scotland he ruled was as large as the Scotland of Alexander III. In 1318 he won back the great commercial city of Berwick-on-Tweed after a long siege. Time after time the Scots crossed the border to

harry and harass England, and once, in 1322, Edward himself led an invading army as far as Edinburgh. In these adventures the balance of success was with the Scots. Once, at Mytton-on-Swale, in Yorkshire, the English were sharply defeated on their own soil, and Edward's invasion was repelled.

The diplomacy was chiefly with Pope John XXII., who was anxious to mediate between England and Scotland. At first he failed utterly, because he would not address Bruce as king of Scotland; but in 1320 the Scots themselves, in a great national assembly held at Arbroath, in Forfarshire, appealed to the Pope against England. They claimed independence, and independence only, as their ancient right, but nothing short of that. A truce was made in 1323, and again the Scots appealed to the Pope. He wavered, but finally decided against Scottish independence.

Nevertheless, it was coming; and King Robert who had won it, though his end was near, was to see it come. A strong national life was running in Scottish veins, as the assembly at Arbroath had shown. A still more important assembly, or Parliament, met at Cambuskenneth, near Stirling, in 1326. It was the age of the beginning of Parliaments in Europe, of collections of "Estates" representing those classes of the nation who were allowed or desired by kings to come together and take part in government. Such Parliaments had met, for example, in England under Edward I. and his son, and in France under Philip the Fair. The Parliament of Cambuskenneth met to provide funds for carrying on the struggle for Scottish independence, and it is famous because, for the first time in Scottish history, it had representatives of the towns as well as of the nobles and "lairds," as the Scottish squires were always called. It was time, indeed, that the Scottish towns should be so honoured, for we remember that they were consenting and signing parties to the alliance with France in 1295. It was a good beginning, though, as we

have already seen, and shall have to see again and again, the Scottish Parliaments never were so satisfactory as the English ones.

In 1327 Edward II. was dethroned, and a few months after the Scots again invaded England with success. The new English king, Edward III., was only fifteen, and his advisers felt that the struggle must be given up. In May 1328, accordingly, a treaty was made, called, from the place of negotiation, the Treaty of Northampton. By this treaty the full harvest of Bannockburn—namely, complete Scottish independence—was at last gathered in. The king of Scots was acknowledged as an independent sovereign, in perpetual alliance with the English king, *saving only the alliance between Scotland and France*, and the two countries were further knit by the betrothal of King Robert's son David to Joanna, the sister of Edward III. On such accomplishment of his labours Robert Bruce closed his eyes, dying—it was said of leprosy—at Cardross, near Dumbarton, in June 1329, leaving his kingdom, alas! in the hands of a child. Robert Bruce, though his career began in treachery and violence, turned out one of the very few great kings Scotland has had. He united her in sentiment, fostered her national feeling, recovered her lost territories, and led her, through a splendid feat of arms, to the first unembarrassed independence she had ever known. Bruce deserves from history as bright a halo as legend has always been ready to give him.

CHAPTER VII

THE REIGN OF DAVID II. 1329-1371

THE first forty-two years of independent Scotland, which make up the reign of David II., though at their close the country was as independent as at the beginning, were years of disappointment, anarchy, and bloodshed. The phrase, "reign of David II.," has not much reality to justify it. David was five years old when his father died; during eight years of his reign he was an exile in France; during eleven years of it a prisoner in England. While he actually was in Scotland, a ruling king on the throne, he was crippled by debt and soiled by treachery. This chapter will show that there were four chief causes of the failure of the reign.

(1) There was *David's long minority*. This happened at a time when a grown-up and powerful ruler was specially wanted to steer independent Scotland through the perils that surrounded her. And the disadvantage was made greater by the fact that there were inefficient regents at critical moments.

(2) There was *the hostility of Edward III.* However much we may think that Edward I. was unwise and injurious to Scotland in his aims of conquest and incorporation we can never blame him as much as his grandson. For the first Edward had at least a long tradition of English superiority with which to support his claims; but the third Edward should never have forgotten the Treaty of Northampton, which had made Scotland independent, and he ought to have respected her independence and fostered it. On the contrary, he disregarded the treaty as having been made by regents during his nonage.

(3) There was *the disturbing influence of France.* We shall never understand either English or Scottish history, and still less the relations between the two, unless we keep in mind the constant complication with French affairs which arose out of the Norman Conquest. Sometimes that complication was greater than at others, and it never was greater than in the fourteenth century. It brought to England first glory and then shame; to Scotland it brought perplexity and confusion of every kind.

(4) There was *the uncertain action of the Scottish magnates.* We remember how there were parties among the magnates in the reigns of Alexander II. and Alexander III. Ever since that time great feudal lords, with many of whom we must try to become familiar, played an increasingly important part in Scottish affairs. In the reign of David II., partly because of the king's long minority and long exiles, partly because of the confusion wrought by English and French interference, the magnates had to bear heavy responsibilities, and they bore them in very different ways. On the whole it must be said that they failed to behave with that patriotic unity which might have saved Scotland in her new hour of need—such unity as the English magnates had shown when they made King John give them the Great Charter. In fact, all through Scottish history the aristocracy as a body plays a disappointing part. It was always too apt to act, either each man for himself, or in small factions or parties, which tried to injure each other instead of working together for the good of the state.

The boy-king of seven was crowned and anointed at Scone in 1331. It was the first time that a Scottish sovereign had been touched with the holy oil. Then a grievance showed itself, by which the dawn of promise for Scotland was quickly clouded over. Certain English lords —the "Disinherited Barons" as they were called—who had forfeited their Scottish estates were to be restored to them under the Treaty of Northampton; but as they

were wholly disaffected, the regent, Randolph, Earl of Moray, delayed to carry out the treaty. It was enough for the young English king: he made common cause with the "Disinherited" against Scotland. At first, indeed, he seemed to hold back, and put forward Edward Balliol, a son of the famous King John, who invaded Scotland with the "Disinherited" in 1332. They landed in Fife, marched to Strathearn, and on Dupplin Moor, just south of Perth, defeated the Scottish forces led by Mar, Bruce's nephew, the regent who had succeeded Randolph. Mar himself was among the slain. Edward Balliol then took Perth, and was actually crowned Scottish king at Scone on 24th September 1332, just as if there had been no Bannockburn and no labours of Robert Bruce and no Treaty of Northampton. In November, Balliol at Roxburgh acknowledged the superiority of the English king; but at Annan, in December, he was fallen upon by the patriotic magnates, Randolph, Earl of Moray, and Archibald Douglas, and soundly defeated. All this was only a prelude. Edward III. was lord paramount of Balliol's Scotland, and had to avenge his vassal's defeat. Accordingly, in 1333 there was a much greater invasion of Scotland by Balliol and Edward III. together. They besieged Berwick-on-Tweed, the great commercial frontier town which the Scots had long held but which they were soon to lose for ever. At Halidon Hill, near the town, the Scots were heavily defeated, and Bannockburn seemed undone and wiped out. The brave regent, Lord Archibald Douglas, appointed after Sir Andrew Moray, was taken prisoner at Roxburgh in 1332, and many others were slain.

Halidon Hill involved not only the loss of Berwick but the temporary ruin of independent Scotland. Edward Balliol, with Edward III. behind him, was the nominal ruler of the land, and King David and Queen Joanna were shipped off for safety to the guardianship of the French king at Paris, not to return for seven years. As

it was after Edward I.'s conquests so it was again now: Scotland was to be governed according to English ideas and plans. In June 1334 Balliol gave up to the *direct* rule of Edward III. most of the country between the Tweed and the Forth, with the town, castle, and county of Dumfries; and a justiciary, a chamberlain, and several sheriffs were appointed to govern those regions. This gift was supposed to be a kind of reward to the English king for his help of Balliol. Balliol also did homage for the whole land.

And now begins a slow deliverance of Scotland from the English yoke like that which was wrought by Robert Bruce. Its chief heroes were Andrew Moray of Bothwell and Randolph, the Earl of Moray. The Scots soon began to show that they meant to set themselves free. Edward of England invaded Scotland once or twice and hampered the patriots, but, on the whole, the work of deliverance went on steadily by the surrender of castle after castle and town after town. By 1341 the work was over once more, and David II. was brought back from France and set up again upon his Scottish throne. He was now eighteen; though he was jolly and easy-going, he had little sense and no stability of character. Edward III. had previously recalled Balliol, and he was now one of his generals in England. Independent Scotland was restored, but with England for her enemy instead of her friend.

At this point the influence of France was extremely disturbing. Ever since the accession of Edward III. England and France had been drifting towards war. There were various causes for this. The English king was Duke of Aquitaine, and the French king wanted that great province for himself. On the other hand, Edward was very anxious to keep his hold on Aquitaine and also to gain power in Flanders, at the opposite corner of France, not only for the sake of power but for the sake of trade—Aquitaine being rich in wine, and Flanders being the seat of woollen manufactures in the Middle Age. To these solid causes

of dispute Edward III. added a fantastic one. He claimed to be, through his mother, heir to the French Crown, and called himself king of France.

In 1337 open war broke out, a war which was destined to last for more than a century, and which is known as the Hundred Years' War. When David II. came back to Scotland in 1341 it had been raging four years. France and Scotland were still in close alliance, and therefore hostility between Scotland and England was increased. Moreover, the English king's preoccupation with the French wars hindered him from undertaking another conquest of Scotland, and so the Scots were able to assume the offensive. A state of chronic intermittent war between England and Scotland set in. Personally the Scottish king gained nothing by this state of things. In 1346 David led a large force into England. They got near to Durham, but were withstood there by the array of the North under the Archbishop of York, Henry Percy, and Ralph Neville. On the 17th of October the battle of Neville's Cross was fought. The Scots were heavily defeated, and poor King David was taken to the Tower of London and kept in England as a prisoner for eleven years.

During those years Scotland was governed by Robert the Steward, David's brother-in-law, the heir-presumptive of the Crown. For some years there was no active warfare. In 1355 French influence made the Scots attack England again, and they took Berwick. The following year (1356) Edward himself came into Scotland to punish with a great army. It was about the Feast of the Purification, or Candlemas, and the invasion is known in Scottish tradition as "the Burnt Candlemas." The Scots returned northward before the English, leaving desolation behind them, drawing the English on to the Firth of Forth. On went the invaders, burning and destroying and laying waste. Edward Balliol gave up his claim to the crown. In the

following year Edward consented to give up the Scottish king for an enormous ransom, under which Scotland was to groan for many years. Nor was it only the ransom that was a misfortune. David came back from his English exile with a character and reputation which steadily diminished.

The ransom consisted of 100,000 marks, which were to be paid in ten yearly instalments. This could only be done by a grinding taxation. The Scottish Parliament made elaborate arrangements for levies, both direct and indirect. David soon showed that he had none of his father's independence of spirit. He went several times to the English court for no good reason, incurring by those visits an expenditure which made the ransom all the more unbearable. His personal expenditure was exceedingly extravagant. In 1363 a rebellion, led by Douglas and supported by Robert the Steward and others, forced David to show some energy. He put down the rebellion, but in the same year he betrayed his country by making what, in the circumstances, was a shameful bargain with the English king. On condition of Edward's releasing him from the remainder of the ransom he was to recognise Edward as heir to the Scottish Crown. Such an arrangement was made possible by David's childlessness. His first wife, Joanna of England, died without issue in 1362, and though David promptly took another wife, Margaret Logie, he soon divorced her.

The spirit of Scotland was not yet so broken as to submit to so humiliating a union with her neighbour; and in March 1364 Parliament, with much decision, refused to ratify the proposal. Therefore David's nephew, Robert the Steward, remained the heir; Scotland was formally independent; and the instalments of the ransom had to be paid year by year. In 1371 David II. died, and the ransom was still uncompleted.

Scotland had paid dearly for her possession of David

Bruce; but the independence which she enjoyed at his death was at least a symbol of the survival of her nationhood. We have seen how her Parliaments could at times resist the royal will. But it was much against Scotland that while, in Edward III.'s reign, the English Parliament was steadily gaining actual power, the Scottish Parliament was making no real advance during the same period. Between 1326 and the end of the century the burghs seem to have been represented among the Estates only when money was wanted. The smaller freeholders, or "lairds" found it difficult to attend; it was also desired to do much business *secretly*.

Therefore Committees of the Estates were formed which took the real business on themselves. As we shall find, these Committees checked Parliamentary development, and favoured what was the chief curse of mediæval Scotland, the excessive power and the self-seeking of her nobles.

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CHAPTER VIII

FEUDALISM IN SCOTLAND: THE NOBLES AND THE STEWARTS. 1371-1513

FEUDALISM is a vague and a hard word. In England it means one thing; in France or Germany another thing. In Scotland, however, there is no doubt what it means. It means far-reaching and constraining powers, powers held by great landowners, powers of arming their followers, powers of judging their tenants, powers of coining money and building castles, and these powers were held by them because they were landowners. It means also that these powers were unchecked by such laws as England possessed in Magna Carta, by such a Parliament as wisdom and good fortune combined were bestowing upon England, by such strong kings as William the Conqueror, Henry II., and Edward I.

During the two centuries with which this chapter will deal we shall see struggles going on among great magnates, sometimes with each other, sometimes with kings who are often weak and nearly always unfortunate. We shall see a Parliament able to be little else than an instrument of the great lords and yet able to add not a little to the edifice of good Scottish laws. It all makes rather a dreary story, and a curious preparation for the better, if not less stern, chapters which are to follow.

As first it might seem as if Scotland were going to have satisfactory kings at last. The line of Bruce having expired in David II. the nation had at least a fruitful patriarch in his successor. Robert the Steward of Scotland, now King Robert II., the son of Marjory Bruce, was of

that Norman family of Fitzalan who had settled in Scotland and had so long been hereditary Stewards of the land. They had large estates (Renfrew and the Isle of Bute), and Robert had had much experience of regency. There was no prospect of his line dying out, for he had quite an embarrassingly large family. He had been twice married, and his lawful children were fourteen, while he had many illegitimate children besides. Such a family meant not only a secure succession to the Crown but, unfortunately, also an aristocracy of royal relations which threatened the welfare of the land.

The chief characteristics of the reign of Robert II. (1371-1390) were aristocratic activity, intermittent hostility against England, friendships and intercourse with France, and border raids. At the beginning of the reign, and while Edward III. of England yet lived, there was a truce with England. A lasting peace there could hardly be, for much of David II.'s ransom money was still unpaid, and a good deal of southern Scotland, the remains of what Edward Balliol had given up to Edward III. in June 1334, was still occupied by the English. Robert accordingly thought it well to make a fresh treaty with France in 1371.

As soon as Edward III. was dead (1377) trouble began on the borders. A powerful Scottish noble, the Earl of March, burnt the town of Roxburgh which was in English occupation. The bold Percy, Earl of Northumberland, hurried across the border. Berwick, the old prize, passed from hand to hand. In 1381, through the influence of John of Gaunt, the truce was reinforced. But in 1384 the English invaded Scotland, with John of Gaunt at their head. Not much damage was done, and the invader returned southward from Edinburgh. Then there were curious appearances of the French on Scottish soil. Ambassadors came to Robert II. from Charles VI. of France to announce to the Scottish king a truce between France and England, in the benefit of which he might share. The king was quite

ready to take the benefit, but in the meantime the nobles had been enraged by the appearance at Montrose, in Forfarshire, of thirty French gentlemen who desired to fight along with the Scots against the English. This was not favourable to the success of the embassy, but King Robert's peaceful counsels won the day.

In 1385 the three nations had much to do with each other. The French sent 2000 men to the aid of the Scots, and with these allies (of whom they were by no means fond) the Scots invaded England. The affair turned into a succession of desultory border raids, without fighting of any interest. At one time the young King Richard himself invaded Scotland and got as far north as Perth and Dundee, both of which towns, as well as Edinburgh, he burned. He also burned St Cuthbert's holy fane of Melrose. Then the French went home, dutifully agreeing to pay their own expenses.

One of the fiercest and most famous events of border story was at hand. The Scottish magnates planned a raid which should outshine all other raids. So they arranged for a great *rendezvous* of 40,000 at Aberdeen, led by the Earl of Fife, the powerful son of King Robert II. Southward moved the great host, but at the border it parted into two, and the fame of what followed was won, not by Fife, but by Earl James of Douglas. Fife led half the host south-westward from Carlisle; Douglas with the other half made for Durham, and, having reached it unopposed, he was returning northward when the fiery Hotspur, son of Percy, Earl of Northumberland, whom we know so well from Shakespeare's *Henry IV.*, rushed out upon the Scots near Otterbourne. Then followed the moonlight battle of "Chevy Chase," so dear to all lovers of poetry. The Scots won the day, and took Hotspur prisoner, but Douglas was slain. It was but a border raid which did nothing lasting, but it showed at least what the Scottish aristocracy could plan and carry out.

The strongest man in Scotland now and for many a day after was Robert, Earl of Fife, the leader of the western half of the army of Chevy Chase. He was the patriarchal Robert II.'s third son. In 1388, the year of Chevy Chase, the king was old as well as feeble, and Fife was appointed guardian of the realm. This was done for the good reason that Fife was able and the heir to the the throne was weak. In 1390 Robert II. died, and was succeeded by John, Earl of Carrick, a man fifty years old, who was crowned as Robert III. because the Scots thought the name John, associated with the luckless Balliol, was of evil omen.

Robert III. was as feeble as his father, and so the guardianship of his younger brother, the Earl of Fife, was continued. The king had one son, made Duke of Rothesay in 1398, a bright and gay, but also wild and dissolute, young prince. The Earl of Fife was made Duke of Albany, taking his title from the old name of northern Scotland. He and Rothesay were the first Scottish dukes.

The reign of the good-natured and powerless Robert III. (1390-1406) is really a reign of feudal magnates; of Albany, Douglas, March, and Rothesay. What they did is alone of importance; the king did nothing but mean amiably and exist on sufferance.

The reign has been made both intelligible and delightful by the genius of Walter Scott, who deals with it in the *Fair Maid of Perth.* In many respects the novelist is true to the facts of history. He impresses on us one important fact—namely, the continued existence of Celtic Scotland behind the Grampian screen, its continued existence, and its very different civilisation from that of lowland and Teutonic and progressive Scotland. A blazing proof of the contrast is the great fight on the North Inch of Perth in 1396 described in the *Fair Maid.* Two Highland clans, Chattan and Kay, which had long been

at feud, were allowed by the Government to have a great *duellum*, each clan appearing by thirty representatives on the large meadow on the west side of the Tay, above the bridge of Perth. The fight was a carnage, and decided for neither clan, but it broke the spirit of the Highlands and kept them quiet for a time.

Another fierce bit of history was made by the Earl of Buchan, a brother of the king. He was so fierce that he was called the "Wolf of Badenoch." He burned Elgin Cathedral, and two of his sons came down formidably on Forfarshire. These doings were not Celtic, for the Earl of Buchan was a Fitzalan, or Stewart; but many of the followers were Celtic, and the unrest was at least Highland.

Albany's guardianship went on till January 1399. Then the Estates met at Perth, and, after complaining of misrule in the land, they made David of Rothesay guardian instead of Albany. It was a mistake, as events soon showed.

Those were the last years of Richard II. of England, whose unhappy relations with his magnates and Parliament made him thankful for a peace with Scotland, which lasted until his dethronement and death. The accession of Henry IV. reawakened Anglo-Scottish enmity. The Scots resumed their border raiding, and the new English king prepared for one of the usual invasions. He was unexpectedly reinforced by a powerful ally in the shape of a Scottish renegade. The Earl of March, lord of Dunbar and many other places, had a grudge against the Scottish royal family, chiefly because the Duke of Rothesay had been betrothed to his daughter and had deserted her for the daughter of Archibald, Earl of Douglas. He accordingly thought himself warranted in deserting to the English, and with his followers he swelled Henry IV.'s invading army in 1400. Henry's ostensible reason for invading was the refusal of Robert III. to do homage for Scotland. The invasion was little more than an empty

show, and lasted only a fortnight. Henry got as far as Edinburgh and besieged the castle, which was defended by Rothesay, while Albany lay in the neighbourhood. In three days the English raised the siege of Edinburgh and retired southwards again.

The dissolute Rothesay, though guardian in name, had no real power, nor did his uncle, Albany, relish displacement at his hands. Readers of the *Fair Maid of Perth* remember the tragedy of that book—how Albany's jealousy and hatred at last made him starve his nephew to death in Falkland Tower, in Fife. There is no certain evidence that he did anything so bad as this, or even that he was a bad man at all. What is certain is that Rothesay was not fit to be guardian, and that Albany and Douglas with good cause got him removed from his office in 1401. Always a man of sinister actions, Rothesay now tried to take the castle of St Andrews, but was caught by Albany and Douglas and hurried along the "howe," or hollow, of Fife to Falkland, where he soon after died.

It was a blow to the amiable and feeble King Robert, who had always doted on his eldest son. Nor was there much besides to brighten his last years. The weary border raids began again, and in 1402 the Scots were heavily defeated at Humbleton Hill, in Northumberland, the powerful Earl of Douglas and a son of the Duke of Albany being taken prisoners. Of these events and personages we read in Shakespeare's play of *King Henry IV.*

Hotspur was the hero of Humbleton, and he now in 1403 turned his forces against his liege lord, Henry IV., the captured Douglas fighting for him. He had laid siege to Cocklaw Castle, near Hawick, which Albany defended with a very large force, but the stress of the English rebellion made him raise the siege, and he was soon heavily defeated and killed in the battle of Shrewsbury.

This decisive event brought peace for a time, but the relations of the countries remained acutely uncomfortable.

In 1406 the aged and dying Robert III. had to bear another bitter stroke. His second son James, a boy of twelve, was on his way to France to be educated when he was kidnapped by an English ship off Flamborough Head and imprisoned in the Tower of London.

Robert III. did not live many weeks after the shock of this news. He died on 4th April 1406.

The heir to the throne being a prisoner in England, there was nothing for it but that Albany, who had so long held power, and had been once recalled after dismissal, should continue to hold it. In fact, the Albanys, father and son, were regents until 1424. The rule of the father was to all intents and purposes kingship, and the regency was a better time for Scotland in many ways than she had enjoyed for long. Several important things happened in its course which made for Scottish prosperity.

In 1411 a great battle, which has left its mark in Scottish song, was fought in the far North. We remember how troublesome at intervals had been the Lords of the Isles. Alexander III. had destroyed their independence, but it had been practically regained during the troubles with England. In 1411 Donald, Lord of the Isles, tried to get the earldom of Ross, but was withstood by Albany. He accordingly led a formidable force of 10,000 to the capture of Aberdeen, which he meant to be preliminary to an attack on Perth and the regions to the northward of it. His success would probably have meant the defeat of Teutonic influence in Scotland, and that, as we know, would have meant the defeat of what was best in Scottish life and history. From such a fate Scotland was saved by a Stewart. A son of the "Wolf of Badenoch," who had become Earl of Mar by marriage, encountered Donald's force at Harlaw, nearly twenty miles north of Aberdeen, and defeated it with much slaughter. It was of this fight that old Elspeth in Scott's *Antiquary* sang in her wild dotage.

More important springs of progress than any battle were movements in thought. In 1411 a university was founded in the famous and religious city of St Andrews. The Scottish youth were eager for higher learning, and had long flocked to the university of Paris, the capital of their close allies. *Lollardism*, the heretical teaching (as the Church regarded it) of John Wiclif and others, was beginning to work in Scotland. Church and State in those days could think of nothing else to do with what they called heresy but to kill those who taught it, and at the time of Robert III.'s death an English priest called James Resby was burnt for heresy at Perth.

Relations with England could not be expected to be good, but they had often been much worse. Jedburgh and Dunbar were won back by the Scots. In 1416 Albany undertook an invasion, called the "Foul Raid," which led to nothing.

The anti-English feeling of the Scots was most effectively exercised by the help they gave the French in the wars of Henry V. and Henry VI. They intervened on the side of France after the great English victory at Agincourt, and in 1420 and 1421 greatly helped England's enemies. The French victory of Baugé in the latter year was chiefly owing to Scottish help. After the death of Henry V. the English were ready to sell the liberty of the Scottish king, whom they had kidnapped, we remember, in 1406. The Regent Albany died in 1420, and was succeeded by his son Murdach, a feeble ruler. In 1424 the English Government released the Scottish prince, receiving 60,000 marks for his expenses in six instalments. Back to his native land James brought an English bride of royal blood, Lady Joan Beaufort, great-granddaughter of Edward III.

The reign of James I. (1424-1437) is one of the most interesting and significant in the history of Scotland before the Reformation. It makes a chapter in the story of the fight between Scottish kingship and feudalism—a chapter

in which, for a wonder, we see kingship at first vigorous and successful, though afterwards heavily worsted.

James was a man of marked individuality; he had been educated at the English court; he was a poet. From the very beginning of his reign he showed that he meant to assert himself against the magnates, even those of his own kith and kin. The city of Perth on the Tay is much associated with this king both in life and death. Two Parliaments were held there in 1424 and 1425. They were the Parliaments of a strong king, such as happier England had often known. One of them gave James the right to inquire into the charters of all his vassals (*quo warranto*), and imposed an equal tax for his ransom on all his subjects. During the sitting of the Parliaments he arrested many nobles. He even attacked and crushed the great Houses of Albany and Lennox, which were connected by marriage, the chiefs of both families losing their heads at Stirling. Was not the king venturing too far?

Anyhow he was striving for a strong centralised rule; and, besides bringing under the magnates, he wanted to strengthen his hold on the Highlands and Islands, which, we remember, were, since the days of Alexander III., held subject to a money tribute to Norway and Denmark. The slight obligation to Scandinavia mattered less to Scottish unity than the proud and boastful independence of the Lords of the Isles, which Harlaw had not brought to an end. James carefully paid up the Norwegian tribute and then made a *coup d'état* against the potentates of the old Dalriada. Alexander of the Isles, son of that Donald who was defeated at Harlaw, and many subordinate chiefs were summoned to a Parliament held by the king at Inverness. This was in 1427. The chiefs went, and were at once imprisoned. Some were killed, but Alexander, perhaps because of his Stewart blood, escaped, and with the majority of his followers was allowed to return to his dominions. After several vicissitudes Alexander

was thoroughly subdued, though his territories were still to give trouble in the future.

The alliance between Scotland and France remained potent during this reign, and its force was symbolised by a marriage alliance. The English were still at war with the French, and were still worsting them. In 1428 the French asked the hand of King James' daughter Margaret for the Dauphin of France, afterwards to be the crafty and cruel King Louis XI. It showed how the French leant on Scottish help. In 1436 Louis and Margaret were married, and for the poor girl it was a wretched marriage indeed. Meanwhile one truce after another kept peace between Scotland and England, though as long as the French alliance lasted there could be no real friendliness. After the French marriage became a certainty there was no more attempt to keep the peace, though nothing of importance was done. Berwick and Roxburgh, in spite of efforts both of diplomacy and force, remained in English hands.

James, in fact, had better aims than the old traditional one of keeping up hostility with his great southern neighbour. As his reign of twelve years proceeded he had good reason to feel that he had his most troublesome subjects well in hand. He had confiscated three great earldoms—those of Lennox, Strathearn, and March. That such a rule, strengthened by such means, would be acquiesced in was not to be expected in those days, when revenge was, for the most part, all that stood for public policy. James I., who had been a conqueror, had to become a victim. A great conspiracy among the nobles was formed against him. At its head was the Earl of Atholl, grandson of Robert II. by his second wife; with him were associated his grandson, Sir Robert Stewart, and Sir Robert Graham of Kincardine. In February 1437 the king kept high state at Perth in the Dominican Convent, in order to receive the papal legate. He had

had many warnings that danger was in store, yet he acted on the whole as if he had no suspicion. One night Graham and others burst into the king's presence as he was preparing to go to bed, and stabbed him to death, wounding the queen also. Atholl, Graham, and others were cruelly executed for the foul deed.

Perhaps the murderers sincerely believed that they were doing away with a cruel tyrant, as Graham is said to have called his king. But the character was certainly not deserved. Violent and selfish James I. may have been, but he was a strong king and a reformer. We have foreign testimony as to the condition of the land he ruled, and its prosperity was greatly owing to the changes favoured by the king. James tried to improve the Scottish Parliament, having learned the ways of the English one, but in this he failed. The old system of the Three Estates remained, qualified by the committees which prepared their business for them. One good reform was the foundation of a central Court of Judicature called "The Session." He also made many changes for the better in general legislation, and proved himself a friend of orthodoxy and of the Church.

In spite of the punishment of James' murderers the prospect at the beginning of the reign of James II. (1437-1460) looked better for feudalism than for kingship. The new king was six years old, and there was a timid queen-mother. The most formidable of the magnates had been held in awe by James I., but their power for mischief had not been destroyed. The coronation of the child-king was carried out at once, this time at Holyrood; and at first it seemed as if the Estates (*i.e.* the Parliament) were to govern Scotland. It was sought to turn the force of the terrible House of Douglas to good account by making Archibald, the fifth earl, the king's lieutenant, but feudalism soon overpowered central government.

Two of the smaller barons, Crichton and Livingstone,

had much prominence at this time. Sir William Crichton was keeper of Edinburgh Castle; Sir Alexander Livingstone was keeper of Stirling. These two men were rivals for power over the king and his mother. They shared political power between them, but Livingstone got command at Stirling of the king's person. The queen married a Stewart, the "Black Knight of Lorne," but did not thereby escape durance. Meanwhile, in 1439 Douglas, the lieutenant, died, leaving a son of seventeen to succeed him. Against the young Earl of Douglas, Livingstone and Crichton joined together, but alas! in their own interests and in the interests of anarchy rather than for the good of Scotland. In 1440 they seized and murdered Douglas at Edinburgh Castle at what was called the "Black Dinner," accusing him of treason. In such a crime there was nothing to strengthen the state, and a great deal to weaken it.

During the rule of Crichton and Livingstone the relations between Scotland and France were strengthened by a marriage between the king's sister and a son of the Duke of Brittany.

The Douglases now again begin to loom large, and events move towards a great catastrophe. The next successor but one to the victim of the Black Dinner was William, the eighth earl. It was he who was to give lurid fame to his house.

At first his influence seemed legitimate, and all looked promising. He was made the king's lieutenant, but he soon began to use his power for personal rather than public ends. He conspired with Livingstone against Crichton; he became the acknowledged rival and enemy of the House of Stewart. The flames of private war, that curse of states in those days, were lighted in many parts of the land, and the energies even of good men were wasted in the blaze. Such a man was James Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews, first cousin of the king. He joined

with Crichton to try to outweigh the Douglas-Livingstone alliance, and at the same time not to make an unseemly exchange of spiritual for carnal weapons.

In 1448 there was again war with England, and fierce things were done on both sides of the border. The Douglases fought well for Scotland, and on the bank of the little River Sark, near Gretna (the boundary between England and Scotland at the present time), sharply and decisively defeated an English force led by Percy.

Next year (1449) James II. married and took up the reins of government. He wanted to wed a French princess; but none being to be had he was content with Mary of Gueldres, a niece of the Duke of Burgundy. There was need for a strong king, for a decisive measuring of the forces of kingship and aristocracy was at hand.

James began by attacking the Livingstones, three of the family, the father and two sons, being executed for treason in 1450. Then came the turn of the Douglas. Rivalry between Douglas and Stewart was no small matter. The Douglases were lords of much of Scotland, and their relatives shared their power. They had even a distant claim to the throne. Once (again it was in 1450), when the young Douglas was away from Scotland, the king invaded his domains in order to punish disturbances among his followers. This act led to no permanent estrangement; but two years later James was weary of the proud doings of Douglas and his relations, the Earls of Crawford and Ross, and he resolved to strike both decisively and basely. He invited Douglas to visit him at Stirling Castle; they met and supped as friends; then James asked the earl to break away from Crawford and Ross, and when he refused the king slew him with twenty-six sword wounds.

So sudden and base a deed was no victory of principle or even of real force, and did nothing to strengthen Scottish kingship. A living Douglas stepped into the

dead man's shoes, and the whole family broke into open rebellion. James had hardly scotched the snake, much less had he killed it. With intervals of seeming peace the great fight between Douglas and Stewart went on, the Douglas trying hard to get English sympathy and support. At last, in 1455, the opposed forces met in open war on Scottish soil; the Douglases were defeated, and attainted. The house was wiped out, and their estates were forfeited. At last the power of the Crown had won a solid triumph. Douglas fled to England, and was received there as a friend. England was entering on her Wars of the Roses; it was a good time for Scotland to attack her. James wished to get back Roxburgh and Berwick. This he failed to do, but he troubled Yorkist England on the borders. To the House of Lancaster he remained friendly. In July 1460 the Yorkists gained the decisive victory of Northampton. James made a great effort to recover Roxburgh in August, and was killed by the accidental explosion of a gun that was being used in the siege. He was under thirty.

As his action towards the Douglases had shown, James II. was not without the strength of self-assertion. What was better, both for his throne and for his country, he was a maker of good laws and a founder of good institutions. He appropriated to the support of the Crown lands put at his disposal by the treason of bad magnates; he influenced Parliament to try to regulate the living and expenditure of his subjects and prevent them from being foolish and wasteful; he modified the Court of Justice, set by up James I., constituting it of nine representative men to sit twice a year at Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen. Glasgow University was founded in 1451.

The reign of James III. (1460-1488) began, as his father's had done, with a minority, and, like his father's, it witnessed a fight between the Crown and the feudal lords. But this king, though he was an interesting

man, had the vigour neither of his father nor of his grandfather, and so his is a reign of royal weakness and of feudal strength.

James III. was at least fortunate in having as guardian of his early years Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews. Another guardian was a natural one—the queen-mother, Mary of Gueldres. The beginning of the reign was much occupied with the difficult diplomacy of England and Scotland. Scotland, on the whole, held firmly to the Lancastrians. In 1461 Margaret of Anjou, the fugitive Lancastrian queen of England, was with Mary of Gueldres at Lincluden on the Nith, near Dumfries. In that year the Lancastrians were heavily defeated at Ferrybridge and Towton, and Henry VI. and Margaret fled to Scotland, where they were well sheltered and entertained. On his part Henry restored Berwick to the Scots.

The triumph of the House of York brought a sharp trial to Scotland's mettle, and once again her unity and independence were at stake. The Highlands and Islands, with their Celtic and Scandinavian inhabitants, and their tradition of independence, were the vulnerable places in Scotland. If they could be torn away from Scottish allegiance Scotland would be heavily injured. Realising this, Edward IV. of England in 1463 made a treaty with John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, which it is startling to think of. The Earl of Douglas, whom James II. had banished, joined with the conspirators against the Crown; and the treaty provided that, in the event of a complete conquest of Scotland with the aid of the Earls of Ross and Douglas, the Lord of the Isles and his kinsman, Donald Balloch, with the son of the latter, were to rule jointly over Scotland north of the Forth, while Douglas was to be restored to his vast estates, and so given a power in the south of the country quite inconsistent with loyalty. Over these rulers Edward IV. was to be lord superior. It was a point in Edward's favour that Mary of Gueldres

had transferred her sympathies to the House of York, and a marriage was talked of between her and the king.

Even before this strange treaty was signed, John of the Isles was acting as if he were already a king in Scotland. But, fortunately, wiser men and better counsels were really to prevail. The majority of Scotsmen were Lancastrians, and would not traffic with Edward IV. Yet, though they would not traffic with him as a plotter with their enemies, they came to see that they ought to have a dignified alliance with him. Accordingly the Government, still controlled by Bishop Kennedy of St Andrews, prolonged a truce with Edward IV. in 1464. Henry VI. soon after received his final defeat, and there was one England again.

Bishop Kennedy died in 1465, and his loss was disastrously felt. The new leaders were feudal adventurers of a bad type. An important family in the west of Scotland were the Boyds of Kilmarnock. One was Lord Boyd; another, Sir Alexander, was governor of Edinburgh Castle. The latter made one of those "bonds," so common and so dangerous in Scottish history, with Fleming of Cumbernauld, and Lord Kennedy the bishop's brother. By those three the young king was kidnapped and shut up in Edinburgh Castle. The boy was induced to make much of the Boyds. Lord Boyd's eldest son became Earl of Arran, married James' sister, and was the most important magnate in the land.

Royal marriages are never long delayed, and a princess of Denmark was destined for young James. Denmark, since 1397 united with Norway and Sweden in one kingdom, was angry with Scotland because the tribute for the Orkney and Shetland islands was in arrear, and a marriage alliance seemed the only way to avoid war. In 1468 James was betrothed to Margaret of Denmark. Orkney and Shetland now became wholly Scottish in a curious way. As parts of the bride's dowry her father, King Christian I., gave up his claim to the arrears of

tribute, and also the Orkney Islands, in pledge of 10,000 florins. He was to pay another 10,000 florins besides, and finding himself unable to do so when the time came he pledged the Shetlands for that sum. The money has never been paid to this day, and thus, and in no other way, are Orkney and Shetland part of Scotland and of Great Britain. These things happened between 1469 and 1472, in which latter year the islands were formally annexed.

The Boyds, who had risen so high, were now to fall as low. Arran, the king's brother-in-law, had conducted the Danish marriage treaty, but when he returned to Scotland he found the tide setting against him and his house. Either by the king's direct command or at least with his permission, Arran's father and brother were convicted of treason and sentenced to death, while Arran and his wife escaped to Denmark. Lord Boyd saved himself by flight. Arran's wife was separated from him, and, either before or after his death, she married Lord Hamilton —a dangerous complication for the Scottish royal house.

In 1474 St Andrews was made an archbishopric. This event marked the highest point of the Roman Church in Scotland. In less than one hundred years it was to be hurled from its high place by a blast of terrible fury.

And what of Scotland, England, and France and the attractions and repulsions among them? Between Scotland and England there had been truce since 1464, and their relations became more firmly cordial after the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471, where the defeat of the Lancastrians was completed. Edward IV. had married the sister of Charles the Bold, the great Duke of Burgundy, the vassal and the deadly foe of Louis XI. of France. Charles wanted Edward of England to help him; what would the Scots do? The marriage of James II. with Mary of Gueldres had given them Burgundian sympathies; but meanwhile Louis XI. tried to win over the Scottish king to his side. His efforts, however, were vain, and

England and Scotland remained so friendly that when a son (afterwards James IV.) was born to the Scottish king and queen in 1473 Edward IV. planned a marriage alliance. In the following year (1474) there was a treaty between Scotland and England, by which the infant Prince James was betrothed to Edward's youngest daughter Cecilia. It was provided that, if either or both of the children should die, the heir of the Scottish Crown should wed some other daughter of Edward. The truce was to last until 1519. All this looked well, but it did not mean much, as we shall see.

James III. got out of leading-strings in 1479, when he was twenty-five. Then for the last nine years of his reign things began to go steadily and seriously wrong. One happy event occurred before the change. Orkney and Shetland had passed wholly into Scottish subjection; the dangerous semi-independence of John of the Isles was now brought to an end. We remember his design and his co-operation with Edward IV. before Edward IV. became the ally of the Scottish king. In 1475 he was called to attend the Parliament like a true vassal. Failing to appear (for he was much of a rebel at heart), he was declared guilty of treason and attacked under the king's orders by several powerful magnates and thoroughly brought to his knees. Most of his lands, but not the earldom of Ross, were afterwards restored to him, and he himself, with the acknowledged title of Lord of the Isles, was given a seat in the Scottish Parliament.

Thus did the unity of Scotland seem at last complete.

The troubles of the close of James III.'s reign arose from three causes: his own character and conduct, renewed hostility with England, and difficulties with feudal magnates.

James III. was different in character from his ancestors and from the ideal king; he was a lover of peace, a lover of learning and art, and, like Louis XI. of France, fond

of favourites of low birth. The favourites angered both the great lords and the common people, and so the king had no class to fall back upon if he should be attacked. His two younger brothers, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar, were his enemies from his majority, and he did not make for peace by seizing and imprisoning them. When Mar soon after died at Edinburgh it was freely whispered that he had been murdered.

England returned to the traditional attitude of enmity to Scotland when danger of war with Louis XI. was over. James III. and the French king drew together, and in 1480 hostile action on the border began. In two years, from 1480-2, there were war and misery, complicated by famine and plague.

Then the feudal trouble raised its head. The king's hostile brother Albany entered into alliance with Edward of England, and was actually encouraged by him to call himself "King of Scotland." Douglas was another enemy, and the situation looked very formidable. In 1482, as James was preparing to invade England, he and his favourites were seized by a band of the magnates at Lauder Bridge, and James was imprisoned at Edinburgh, while many of the favourites were hanged. Soon after Berwick was finally lost to Scotland.

For a time Albany was friendly to his royal brother. He got him out of prison and lived harmoniously with him, but the good relations did not last. The brothers soon quarrelled again, and Albany was attainted and banished.

In 1488 came the last fatal struggle. Many of the most influential of the nobles banded themselves together, and actually drove the king to seek shelter in the North. The rebels got some support from King Henry VII. of England. The northern magnates rallied to the fugitive king, and a conference between the two factions was held at Blackness, between Edinburgh and Stirling. As

the result, James was to go on reigning; but the insurgent nobles were to keep the person of his eldest son. This diplomacy only kept back war for a short time, and in June the two factions joined battle at Sauchieburn, close to the fateful field of Bannockburn. James fled from the field, and was slain in cold blood in a shed, where he had taken refuge.

James' son, who succeeded as James IV., was only fifteen when his father died. His reign (1488-1513) is very important. Throughout its course we feel that we are among new influences; that great changes have come and that still greater ones are coming; we feel, in fact, that we are nearing the end of an age.

Scotland had all western Europe with her in these experiences. We are now at the beginning of what most people have agreed to call *modern*, as distinguished from *mediæval* history, and it was the changes which together make up that beginning that Scotland was now, in her measure, feeling and showing. We cannot here say much about those changes; we can only name one or two of them. One was the appearance in most European lands of strong monarchies, able to keep down the power of feudal magnates. Another was the growing importance of what is called *diplomacy—i.e.* the negotiation of independent states with the object of keeping up a *balance of power* among them and preventing any one from gaining too much at the expense of others. Another was the invention of printing, which, following hard upon the Revival of Letters, spread ideas, both in politics and in religion, inconsistent with those which had ruled in the Middle Age. Another was the discovery of the New World and the great growth of trade and conquest which followed on it.

Now in the reign of James IV. we shall see all these new things at work. To begin with, we seem to be nearing the end of feudalism, in so far as that word

means the power of great magnates at the expense of the Crown. James' reign began with a restoration of order, and in many respects he proved himself a strong king. True, the death of the late king was the work of rebels, but they soon showed that they had a better instinct for order than the rulers against whom they had conspired. A strong Government was formed to aid the young king, and it turned, with all the force of the law, against the "traitors" who had been worsted at Sauchieburn. Most were attainted and deprived of their lands. In 1489 revolts—in the west under Lennox and Lyle and in the north under Lord Forbes—were unsparingly put down.

In this reign the hostility between Scotland and England, which had lasted so long and led to so much misery, showed many signs of coming to an end. But the approaches of the two countries were diplomatic rather than national; it was the kings who drew together, for selfish reasons, rather than their subjects; and so the progress of friendship was easily interrupted. At first there was little friendship, though the countries were at truce. In those days nations were using ships with a new energy, and it was difficult for Governments to control their movements and keep them from piracy. In spite of the truce English ships had been injuring Scottish ones. Scotland had a famous sailor, Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, in Fife, who showed much of the spirit of the Elizabethan seamen of the future. In 1489 he was sent with two ships, *The Yellow Carvel* and *The Flower*, to punish the English sailors. He captured five ships, and afterwards again crippled the English craft.

The English were, of course, becoming modern with the rest of Europe. In 1485 Henry VII., the first of the great Tudor line, became king of England, and his character had much influence on the relations with Scotland. He was a cautious, peace-loving diplomatist, with a great love of amassing money, and not in the least a

warrior-king of the type of Edward III. and Henry V. The early part of his reign was much disturbed by pretenders, the chief of whom was a certain Perkin Warbeck, who gave himself out for a son of Edward IV., supposed to have been murdered in the Tower, and thus the rightful king of England. In 1492 Warbeck began to be troublesome, and in 1495 James IV. unfortunately decided to support his claim. It shows the changed times that Henry replied to so hostile a purpose, not by any hostile act, but by offering James his daughter in marriage. For the present, however, James went on backing the impostor. He showered every kind of favour on Warbeck, and in 1496 prepared to invade England in alliance with him. This year and the next there were warlike operations on the borders, but there was no very serious war. In fact, James was cooling towards Warbeck, and in July 1497 he got rid of him altogether. The adventurer sailed away to Ireland, and soon descended upon England, like a spent rocket, to throw himself on Henry's clemency. All this time the astute English king was holding on to his marriage project, and it is one of the vital facts of Scottish history that he was able to carry it out. But that was not for a year yet, and meanwhile we must take note of another vital fact — the completion of the conquest (in so far as there ever was a conquest) of the troublesome "Highlands and Islands." That James IV. was able to do this is enough by itself to make his reign worthy of remembrance. The conquest was in two distinct stages — one in 1493 and the other in 1497-1501.

We remember how the Lord of the Isles submitted to James III. in 1476. The Celtic chiefs who owned him as lord hated the submission and practically ignored it, taking as their head an illegitimate son of John named Angus. Angus and his son Donald Dubh, or Dhu, became exceedingly dangerous and troublesome, and for about

ten years after 1480 the Celts of old Dalriada made a series of attacks on the Scots of old Alban. So hopeless was it to keep the peace against them that forfeiture was passed against Lord John in 1493.

The second stage was more difficult and more real. The region was not really pacified; it went on giving trouble, and the king had to go again and again in person to try to restore order. At last, in 1498, James began to govern the whole region through a lieutenant, the Earl of Argyll. But a serious revolt under Donald Dubh broke out and grew in dimensions, until at last, in 1504, the region was put under sheriffs. Warlike campaigns followed, and at last Donald Dubh was safely shut up in Edinburgh Castle. The government of the Highlands and Islands was divided between Huntly in the north and Argyll in the south, and the region gave no further trouble thenceforward.

In 1503 Henry VII. had his wish, and his daughter Margaret became the wife of James IV. Here again is one of the events of Scottish, as well as of English, history of which we can hardly exaggerate the importance. For not only did the marriage mean that the two lands were friendly at the moment when it happened, a thing they had not been for more than two hundred years, but it was from this marriage that the ultimate union of England and Scotland—the union begun in 1603 and completed in 1707—took its origin. It took two centuries to complete the union, and during that time there was often anything but unity—there was often open and cruel war between the two lands. But from the moment when James Stewart and Margaret Tudor stood before the altar in the Abbey Church of Holyrood events could not be withheld from their natural goal.

Scottish diplomacy was not only with England. James IV. asserted himself stoutly even in the face of the Papacy. The Scottish Church (*i.e.* the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland) was not now in a satisfactory state. The clergy,

both seculars and regulars, were too apt to be careless, and even immoral, and there was a tendency to call in question many doctrines which the Church held to be true and vital. Thus, in the district of Kyle, in Ayrshire, there were teachers called "Lollards," like the followers of Wiclif a century earlier, who denied the authority of the Pope, and even that of the Church as it was then understood. In 1494 thirty of these teachers stood on their defence before the king himself. But James, like Gallio, cared for none of these things, and let them off. We shall have cause to remember these "Lollards of Kyle" when we come to deal with the Reformation in Scotland, as we shall soon be doing.

The Popes were at this time crafty diplomatists and statesmen rather than saints. Especially was this true of Julius II., who was Pope from 1503 to 1513. In spite of heresy, Scotland, as represented by her king, had been very friendly with Julius' predecessor, Innocent VIII., and he had founded a second Scottish archbishopric at Glasgow in 1492. And even Julius II., in 1507, patronised James, and styled him—careless immoral man as he was—"Protector of the Christian Religion."

But when in 1509 the peace-loving Henry VII. of England gave place to his fiery young son Henry VIII. diplomacy became more difficult, and Scotland drifted into hostile relations with both the Papacy and England. The trouble grew out of the action of France, Scotland's old ally. In 1496 Charles VIII. of France invaded Italy with the object of attacking the Spanish power there, and succeeded in establishing his nation in Lombardy. From that time onwards certain of the European Powers longed to drive the French out of Italy. Pope Julius II. took the lead among them, and in 1511 a league (called, because the Pope was at the head of it, the Holy League) was formed between him, Ferdinand of Spain, the Emperor Maximilian, and Henry VIII. of England. The league

did not hold well together, but before it finally broke up it did actually drive the French out of Italy.

Although Henry VIII. was the brother-in-law of James IV. James refused to abandon France in this crisis, nor did the fear of the formidable Pope shake his resolve. The behaviour of some English pirates and other causes had already imperilled Scoto-English peace; and as for Queen Margaret, she was angry with her Tudor relations because they had kept back some jewels, part of her dowry, and did nothing to help peace. So when in 1513 the English king went on with the war against France, James made up his mind to strike a great blow against France's enemy. It was chivalrous, perhaps, but, as we shall soon see, it was suicidal.

Henry VIII. invaded France in June 1513, and in August James IV. invaded England. He had collected a large army on the south side of Edinburgh, and, in spite of omens which told of coming disaster, the force moved southwards towards the Tweed and the border country, whose soil had so often been drenched with English and Scottish blood, shed for the most part in vain. A host, which some report as 60,000 and some as 100,000, crossed the Tweed on 22nd August. Where the Scots crossed the River Till enters the Tweed, having flowed north-westward through Northumberland. The army kept on the English side of the Tweed and on both sides of the Till, taking one small place after another, but not even attempting to take Berwick. The weather was bad, the large army lost spirit, and there were desertions. Meanwhile, King Henry being in France, the English were gathering under the Earl of Surrey. On 1st September they were at Newcastle to the number of about 35,000, and they moved northwards. When they were within communicating distance of the Scots Surrey sent a challenge to James couched in insolent terms. James accepted it in a moment fraught with dire issues

for himself and his country. The high lands of Northumberland, from which Till descends to Tweed, end towards the plain in the ridge of Flodden. On that ridge the boastful and too rash king of Scotland planted himself, while the English lay to the south-east. They moved down the Till to Twizel Bridge, near its junction with the Tweed, crossed the Till, and approached the Scottish host, which moved from Flodden to a lower eminence called Bransdon. Battle was joined in on the afternoon of 9th September, and when darkness fell the Scots were hopelessly routed. The Scots rashly came down from their height, and though the conflict for a time seemed equal the English began to forge ahead. James himself fought gallantly in the ranks, and he was bravely defended, his best fighting subjects making a circle round him. But he was slain, and the best part of his magnates, thirteen earls, fourteen lords, churchmen, and countless knights and gentlemen were slain also.

The tragedy of Flodden made a deep mark on Scottish sentiment and tradition, as well it might. But its great historical importance lies in the fact that it ended at a blow the power of that feudalism which had kept back the civilisation of Scotland, had paralysed her Parliaments, and baffled such of her kings as could have helped her. The battle of Flodden, in fact, did for Scotland very much what the Wars of the Roses had done for England rather earlier. It humbled an aristocracy which had failed to be worthy of its position and left the field open for new men and new ideals. What these turned out to be we shall soon see.

James IV. was not a great man, but he did some kingly things, and his land prospered under him. He had diplomatic relations with many countries—with Denmark and Spain, as well as France, England, and the Papacy. It was now that Scottish commerce became world-wide, as the world then was; it was now that the Scottish navy was founded.

In the department of judicature the Supreme Court founded by James I. and reformed by James II. was greatly improved. From 1504 onward the king appointed a court called the "Daily Council" to sit permanently at Edinburgh instead of the old "Session" which followed the king. Circuits also were established. In 1495 a third Scottish university was founded at Aberdeen, and intelligence generally took a big stride. Literature was well represented by Gavin Douglas and William Dunbar.

CHAPTER IX

THE EVE OF THE GREAT CHANGE: FROM FLODDEN TO SOLWAY MOSS. 1513-1542

ALTHOUGH Flodden, as we have seen, marks an epoch, the reign of James V. which followed it (1513-1542) showed little improvement, and indeed little change, in the general aspect of Scottish affairs. It was most unfortunate for Scotland under the Stewarts that in an age when strong kings were wanted so many kings had to begin their reign in babyhood; for that meant guardianships and regencies, the power of selfish magnates, and often also of selfish and vicious queen-mothers. James V. was two when the smoke of Flodden cleared away, and he was under absolute tutelage until 1528. During those years there was something not much better than anarchy in Scotland; faction fought with faction; the country was sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile, to England; on the whole, firm in its old friendship with France. Yet the familiar miseries are, so to say, in a new setting; it is a different England, a different France, with which Scotland has to do; above all, men on the Continent are beginning to think quite differently about religion from what they thought through the long Middle Age; and the new thoughts, which will soon transform Scotland utterly, are already stealing in.

The reign of James V. is difficult to understand because of its confusion. We shall come nearest to understanding it by dividing it into two nearly equal periods—(1) The fifteen years of James' nonage; (2) the fourteen years from 1528 to 1542.

(1) During the first period three figures rise above the strife of factions, and either add to it or do something toward guiding it—the queen-mother, Margaret Tudor, the sister of Henry VIII.; John, the last Duke of Albany, grandson of James II.; and Archibald, Earl of Angus, representing the great House of Douglas. Throughout the period we see Albany for the most part striving with Angus for mastery and the queen-mother throwing her weight into the scale sometimes of the one and sometimes of the other. And then at the end we see Albany worsted and withdrawing and Angus supreme for the rest of the king's minority. On the whole it would be true to say also that of the two great rivals Albany represented French influence and the traditional diplomacy of Scotland, while Angus stood for that new and strange alliance with England, the seal of which was Margaret Tudor's marriage with James IV.

Henry VIII. did not try to follow up the victory at Flodden, but hostilities continued on the borders. Henry and his great adviser, Cardinal Wolsey, were too modern not to prefer diplomacy to war, and Henry tried through his sister, the queen-mother, to bend Scotland to his will. For the present, however, he could not succeed; the old French party—*e.g.* Hume, the Lord Chamberlain, a border magnate; the Earl of Arran; and James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow—were too strong. Their object was to thwart Henry and his sister and to make Albany regent instead of the queen-mother, who had been regent since Flodden. Meanwhile, in August 1514, Queen Margaret surprised the world by marrying the Earl of Angus, who was hardly more than a boy, and thus claiming him as champion of English interests. Albany left the French court (where Francis I. had just succeeded Louis XII.) in 1515, and came to take up the work of the regency, while the queen-mother was kept a kind of prisoner at Edinburgh. Albany was really a Frenchman; he was

Admiral of France; he could not speak either the English tongue or the Scottish dialect of it. Yet in 1515 he ruled strongly and without fear. He forced the queen-mother to give up her children, the young king and a boy born after his father's death; and shortly after the baby brother of the king died, leaving only the life of little James between Albany and the Scottish throne.

In 1516 fortune turned against Albany. The party which supported him wavered in its allegiance. Hume had already revolted; Arran followed his example, and had to be overcome by force. Some compensation came in the shape of the allegiance of the perfidious Angus.

In 1517 Albany returned to France, where he remained more than four years. During those years Scotland was given up to what was practically feudal anarchy and to an aimless diplomacy. Both Angus and Arran, with James Beaton, were nominal vice-regents, but Angus and Arran were really bitter and dangerous foes. The queen-mother's action was regulated wholly by personal considerations. She had come to hate her husband, and wished to be divorced from him, and she was transferring her allegiance to Albany. In 1520 there was a sharp encounter between the parties of Arran and Angus in the streets of Edinburgh, known as "Cleanse the Causeway," because Angus' party swept away the followers of Arran.

The foreign relations of Scotland were hard to manage because of the complications between England, France, and the Empire. Henry VIII. entirely failed either to secure the submission or gain the affections of the northern kingdom, and as yet there was not even a pro-English party in Scotland. All that could be done was to avert or minimise hostilities and prolong truces between the two states. In 1517 Albany renewed the Scottish alliance with France in the closest manner, and, although a French noble, the Sieur de la Bastie, whom he had left as Warden of the Marches, was set upon and slain by the party of

the Humes, Scotland on the whole remained faithful to her French sympathies. At this time a great struggle was about to begin between Francis I. of France and Charles V., Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Lord of the Netherlands, and King of Spain, who was elected emperor in 1519. From henceforward to the end of his reign Henry VIII. and Wolsey were bent on trying to prevent either Francis or Charles from gaining too much preponderating power in Europe. This new object took the place of the old English aim to fight for territory in France. In the early twenties of the sixteenth century Francis was hard bested by Charles, and thus England was after a time led to take up a friendly attitude towards worsted France, especially as Henry VIII. was turning against his wife, Katherine of Arragon, the aunt of the emperor. We shall see how all this affected Scottish diplomacy.

In November 1521 Albany came back to Scotland to take up the work of the regency. He had now the queen-mother on his side, as well as James Beaton, the Earl of Huntly, and Arran. The followers of Angus were opposed and turned away, and Albany seemed undisputed master. He was anxious to organise an invasion of England in 1522, for Henry had not yet begun to take the side of Francis I. But his party would not undertake it, and he left for France again in October.

During the absence of Albany Anglo-Scottish relations became very bad, and in 1523 there was wild work again on the borders. The Earl of Surrey (son of the conqueror at Flodden) invaded Scotland, and the town of Jedburgh was burned. Then Albany returned once more, and tried to lead the Scottish forces, but he had to retreat and fall back upon Edinburgh. In May 1524 he went back to France, this time never to return.

Albany's departure began the second stage of James V.'s nonage—the period marked by the rule of Angus, the discarded husband of Margaret Tudor. As soon as Albany

was gone Henry VIII. and Wolsey again began trying to court the Scots, and henceforward there was an English party in Scotland to match the French one, the latter being still led by Archbishop James Beaton of St Andrews, with whom the queen-mother was now associated. So actively was England interfering in Scottish affairs that Wolsey actually thought of kidnapping Beaton in order to get him out of the way. Then suddenly the queen-mother went over to the English party, which at the moment was led by Hamilton, the Earl of Arran, Angus being still in France. She pretended a great zeal for the interest of her son, and she and Arran had him proclaimed, or "erected," king at Edinburgh. All this was done with the approval of Henry VIII.

Then Angus came to begin his rule, which he carried steadily on in the interests of the English party, the queen-mother, who moved like a weathercock, becoming now French in her sympathies. But on 31st March 1525 Francis I. of France was taken prisoner by the emperor; and England, bent on redressing the balance of power, concluded an alliance with France. This event broke down for a time the distinction between French and English interests in Scotland. Angus did not keep his mastery (including the guardianship of the king) without fighting, but he did keep it.

It is unfortunate that we are obliged to say so much about the shifting diplomacies and faction fights in Scotland, for they led to nothing very important or very definite. Much more momentous than the supremacy of Albany or of Angus was the slow stealing into Scotland in those days of the new thoughts about religion which had shown themselves in Germany under Martin Luther and which were by-and-by to change England and to revolutionise Scotland. In February 1528, just before James V. began his personal rule, Archbishop Beaton had a heretic burned at St Andrews called Patrick Hamilton. He was quite

a young man, descended on the mother's side, though illegitimately, from James II. He was much educated abroad, where he learned the teaching both of Erasmus and of Luther, and came to St Andrews to spread it in 1523. Then he went abroad again and returned in 1527, more definitely Lutheran than ever. Scotland was not to become Protestant after the Lutheran fashion; but in many very important respects all forms of Protestantism are alike, and so, from his own point of view, the archbishop showed foresight in burning Hamilton. But his point of view can hardily be called one true to the facts and tendencies of things. The new opinions spread like the smoke of Patrick Hamilton's pyre.

(2) Angus' rule did not last long after the young king came of age. Like so many of his predecessors James was eager to destroy the Douglas ascendency represented by his stepfather. Before the end of 1528 Angus had fled to England, and his whole family was under forfeiture.

For the time there was peace between James and his uncle, Henry VIII. Henry was still acting in support of France as against the Empire, and was therefore preoccupied. Indeed, peace with England was concluded for five years from December 1528.

Once more we have to think of the wild "Highlands and Islands," for it was one thing to subject them, as had been so thoroughly done, and another to keep them subject. There were Celtic revolts soon after Flodden, and they were repeated again and again, central authority being represented always by the Earls of Argyll, who, though themselves Celtic, were thoroughly at one with the Scottish Government. The leaders of revolt were the Macleans; and, a family dispute having arisen between the Macleans and the Campbells, a Maclean was murdered by a Campbell. Then there was a wilder revolt of the Macleans, but, partly by force, partly by cajolery, James succeeded in putting it down and in winning a more

real subjection from the whole region than ever his father had won.

During the fourteen years of James' personal rule the king, like his ancestors, tried to strengthen the Crown against the magnates. But his policy in this respect was often more imperious than wise, and he made enemies where it would have been prudent to try to make friends. The social face of Scotland was changing in sympathy with new intellectual and religious ideas, and "the Crown against the Nobles" could not now mean what it had meant even one hundred years before.

In the case of James V. it meant one very serious thing, which had an evil result for the Crown. In strengthening himself against the nobles James allied himself with the clergy. Now, to do that then was a weakness, for the power of the Roman Catholic clergy was near its end in Scotland. Besides, Henry VIII. of England, though he regarded Lutheran doctrines as heresy, had quarrelled with the Papacy, and imposed by his royal will what is often called a "Reformation" on the English Church. Therefore his nephew's loyalty to Rome tended to make his relations to England hostile, and that too was an evil. For the welfare of Scotland, then, as always, lay in friendship with England, if only it could be had without loss of self-respect.

One by one James made enemies of his magnates, and there was even no little danger of a compact between them and Henry VIII. against his Crown. But for the most part Henry preferred courting James to attacking him; he sent ambassadors (of whom the most famous is Ralph Sadler) to try to bring about friendship. It was proposed at one time that James should marry his cousin, Henry's daughter Mary. But James held on his way, and kept strictly to the traditional French alliance. Instead of marrying a Tudor princess as his father had done, he married two French wives. The first was

Madeleine, daughter of King Francis I., and when she died James married Mary of Lorraine, daughter of the Duke of Guise. This accentuated the rupture with England. In 1532 James V. substituted for the "Daily Council," which had been his father's Supreme Court of Justice, a *Court of Session*, which has remained ever since in a form changed to suit the times. It was modelled on the French Parliament of Paris; was to sit permanently in Edinburgh; to try civil actions only; to consist of fourteen persons, seven laymen and seven churchmen, with a clerical president. All were to be nominated by the Crown. The new queen was intensely anti-English. In 1539 David Beaton, nephew of the archbishop, succeeded him at St Andrews, and he also did much to promote French interests in Scotland. Through Sadler Henry VIII. worked hard to win over the Scottish king, but it was to no avail. Yet James V. had no comfort or strength in his policy. He was at war with most of his nobles; his clergy were no creditable support. He lost his two sons, one after the other. Henry VIII. was very anxious for a personal interview with his nephew, but French influence prevented it. Then Henry resolved on war. In the autumn of 1542 he sent a large force across the border under the Duke of Norfolk, claiming English superiority over Scotland. This force retired, having burned some towns. Towards the end of November the English and Scottish armies met at Solway Moss, just over the border from Carlisle. The Scots were completely routed, and James, who heard the news either at Lochmaben or Caerlaverock, moved to Falkland, where he soon after died, having been told that he was the father of a female child. The child was the future Queen Mary.

CHAPTER X

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND. 1542-1603

IN this chapter we enter upon what is, on the whole the most important period of Scottish history, because it is the period during which the Scottish nation as we now think of it was *made*. Of course, we can only say this in a rather loose way: the struggles of the centuries through which we have just passed did much to mould Scotland; but the struggles were so much between kings and magnates or among magnates themselves that the Scottish people as we now think of them were hardly affected by them at all.

Indeed, when we come to consider the matter more closely we see that up to this time there has hardly been a Scottish *people* at all. For by a "people" we generally mean a nation which has a middle class both in town and country, such as existed in England, at all events from the sixteenth century. In Scotland such a class hardly existed before the sixteenth century. Of course, there were merchants in the towns and small "lairds" as well as great magnates in the country, but the merchants and the lairds had no common ground; they were not united in any way; they were not self-conscious and self-assertive and self-protecting like the Third Estate in England.

Now in the middle of the sixteenth century we shall see a middle class arising in Scotland, a class full of energy and daring and capacity; and it is that class, with its peculiarities, its ideals, and its achievements, which has given its distinctive character to the Scottish nation ever since. The suddenness of this birth of a nation, and the

startling vigour of the nation so born, are among the most remarkable things in history.

The cause which more than all others brought about this great result was *religion*. In the sixteenth century a large part of Europe separated itself more or less completely from the Roman Catholic Church, with which throughout the Middle Age Christianity had been identified in western Europe, and in the case of each nation which did so the separation had important effects on the national character and history. In England, for example, the change from Roman Catholicism to Anglicanism (as the reformed faith there is oftenest called), great as it was, was not complete enough to transform the nation and cause it to be born anew. In Scotland, on the other hand, the nation cut itself quite adrift from its religious past; it suddenly came to regard the Roman Catholic Church, from which it had hitherto got all its spiritual food, as sinful and idolatrous; and it adopted passionately a form of Christianity which was quite as unlike Roman Catholicism as the Christianity of St Paul was unlike Judaism. It was the revolutionary passion of Scottish Protestantism which more than anything else brought into being the Scottish people as we now think of them, and the chief aim of this chapter as well as of the next is to show in what respects the Scottish Reformation differed from the Reformation in England and elsewhere and how it made the Scottish people.

Before showing how this was by the sequence of events, we may note at the beginning one or two general characteristics of the Scottish Reformation.

(1) *Scottish Protestantism came from abroad.* It was a direct adaptation of that teaching of the Frenchman John Calvin which had practically founded the city-state of Geneva, and which was brought into Scotland by John Knox. In England also the Reformation was much influenced by foreigners, and especially by the German

Martin Luther and the Swiss Zwingli; but on the whole the Reformed Church of England was, so to say, of home growth; it was formed on lines many of which had been traced in the Middle Age itself; and it was hardly ever possible, and it certainly is not now possible, to speak of the Church of England as either Calvinistic, Lutheran, or Zwinglian. Whereas it always has been, and it still is, quite right to speak of the Scottish Church as Calvinistic.

(2) *Scottish Protestantism was chiefly the work of one man.* In England the Reformation was brought about by innumerable men and countless different influences, but in Scotland the influence of John Knox, the disciple of the French Calvin, so early and so completely prevailed over other influences that Knox may almost be said to have moulded Scottish Protestantism according to his own will, and so to have made the Scottish people. We shall never understand Scottish history unless we try to understand John Knox.

(3) As soon as Protestantism began to take firm hold in Scotland the Scottish people got a vision of two ideals in religion which afterwards they steadily pursued—the ideals of *simplicity* and *equality*. Those ideals were new in the history of Christianity. Whether or no they were the ideals of the primitive Church they were certainly not the ideals of the great western Church of the Middle Age. On the contrary, the great characteristics of mediæval Christianity in doctrine, in ritual, and in Church government were *complication* and *inequality*. And the Reformed Church of England, in spite of its many Protestant characteristics, has never made simplicity and equality its aims as the Scottish churches have done. There is inequality among its clergy; it pays much respect to the complicated structure of dogmas and decisions which was built up in the Middle Age; and it considers the Church in many respects more important than the individual.

(4) One prominent feature of the Scottish pursuit of

equality was the *disbelief in and dislike of bishops* which grew up in Scotland and has persisted ever since. For it came to be a fundamental tenet of Scottish Protestantism that Christian ministers should be equal in rank and official dignity and that some should not have lordship over others.

Now we must return to the story.

After the defeat of the Scots at Solway Moss and the death of James V. the general situation became a good deal simpler. Aristocratic faction, which had played so great and baleful a part under the Stewart kings, was about to change its character; the nobles were in the future to fight less selfishly and less barbarously; they were to become statesmen, aiming at the advancement of country or Church rather than exclusively at their own advancement.

The sixty years with which the chapter deals are occupied by several regencies and two reigns. While James V.'s daughter Mary was in her nonage two regents, first the Earl of Arran, and then the king's widow, Mary of Lorraine, held power. Then Mary ruled as queen for some years. After her defeat and flight from Scotland her brother, the Earl of Moray, ruled on behalf of her infant son, and then came the reign of that son himself, James VI., until he went to London in 1603 to wear the English as well as the Scottish crown. The regency of Arran lasted from 1543 until 1554. The Earl of Arran was one of the most important of the Scottish magnates.

When Arran entered on his regency the Scots had been humbled by England, and Henry VIII., beginning now the last four years of his reign, was naturally anxious to keep up the subjection of Scotland and to unite the interests of the two countries on that basis. But the alliance between Scotland and France continued; there was as yet no influence strong enough to identify the interests

of Scotland and England; it still seemed patriotic for Scotland to resist England with the help of France. There was a small English party in Scotland, and Henry VIII. had bound to himself a number of the prisoners taken at Solway Moss, who came to be known as the "assured Scots." Of this party were Angus and Sir George Douglas. Small as it was it prevailed for a short time. Henry's object was to marry Edward, his son by Jane Seymour (afterwards King Edward VI.), to Mary of Scotland, and the English party favoured this project. Things went so far that treaties were signed at Greenwich in July 1543, according to which Mary was to marry Edward as soon as she was ten, and meanwhile there was to be permanent peace between Scotland and England. To all this the Regent Arran agreed. But meanwhile the much larger anti-English party, led by Beaton, now a Cardinal, was in active negotiation with France, and bent on getting the child-queen into his hands and outwitting Henry and all his schemes. Even before the Treaties of Greenwich were signed French ships were hovering about the east coast, and before July was out Beaton, supported by many magnates, had got Arran to agree that two of Beaton's party should share in the guardianship of Mary, while she was at the same time taken from Linlithgow to Stirling to mark the change of policy. Shortly after, Arran went completely over to the party of Beaton, and did open penance for his former allegiance in the Franciscan church at Stirling. He remained regent, but over him was a council in which Beaton and the queen-mother, Mary of Lorraine, had the leading parts. The council signalised their power by crowning little Mary on Sunday, 9th September. Ralph Sadler wrote to King Henry that the crowning was done "with suche solempnitie as they doo use in this countrey, whiche is not verie costelie."

The tide now ran fiercely against England. Henry's ambassador, Ralph Sadler, was detained as a prisoner by Douglas in Tantallon Castle, on the southern shore of the Firth of Forth. A Parliament met at Edinburgh in December, by which, without a word of protest from Arran, the Treaties of Greenwich were openly repudiated, on the ostensible ground of an outrage by the English king to certain Scottish ships. Two terrible years for Scotland followed. In 1544 Henry VIII. (who was himself invading France, Scotland's ally) sent the Earl of Hertford, brother of Jane Seymour, to invade Scotland, to punish her for her treachery to the Treaties of Greenwich, and to try to force on his favourite plan of the marriage between Mary and Edward. Beaton and his party were strong within Scotland, but the English invasion was terrible, and they had to flee before it. Hertford landed at Leith, burned Holyrood Palace and much of Edinburgh, and retired southwards, burning as he went.

For a moment Scotland had to forget its divisions and unite against the English destroyer. The English remained throughout the year in the south of Scotland, making occasional wasting raids. In the early spring of 1545 the Scots, led by Arran, were ready to make a forward move, and in the end of February they heavily defeated the English at Ancrum Moss, near Jedburgh. It is this battle of Ancrum that is sung of in Sir Walter Scott's wild ballad, *The Eve of St John.*

Henry would have treated with the Scots after this mishap, but their blood was up. If peace were impossible then there must be active war, for Henry feared what the French ships might do in concert with the Scots. A large French force landed in Scotland in the autumn; but it had always been difficult for the Scots and the French to work together comfortably on Scottish soil, and it was now more difficult than ever. So Hertford boldly crossed the border a second time and repeated his last

year's work of wasting and burning. What he did was terrible; the ruins of the beautiful church buildings of the south, at Kelso, Melrose, and elsewhere, for which people used to blame John Knox, remain to help us to realise it.

Fortunately for poor Scotland, the time was near when influences deeper and stronger than those of faction and mere diplomacy were to take possession of her and prescribe her policy. Henry VIII. might fail, and rightly fail, to carry his own point in his own way, but none the less Scotland was to go the way of England rather than the way of France.

Protestant opinions had been steadily, if slowly, making way in Scotland since the execution of Patrick Hamilton for his Lutheran teaching. The new views were spread by missionaries, many of whom had been on the Continent. One of the most prominent and interesting of the missionaries was George Wishart, "a man of tall stature, black haired, comely of person, courteous, lowly, lonely, glad to teach, desirous to learn." Wishart was turned out of a schoolmaster's situation at Montrose, on the Forfar coast, for teaching the Greek Testament, and he found refuge in Corpus Christi College at Cambridge. He then travelled in Germany and Switzerland. By-and-by he returned to Scotland, and preached Protestant doctrines in the chief towns. In the spring of 1546 Cardinal Beaton had Wishart burned at St Andrews as a dangerous heretic. The execution may have been in agreement with the formal rules of the Roman Catholic Church, but things had gone too far in Scotland for such a deed to do the old Church any good. It was, indeed, a heavy blow against both the old Scottish religion and the old Scottish patriotism—the patriotism which had been revived by the bad policy of Henry VIII. and the brutalities of Hertford. The death of Wishart and of other missionaries strengthened Protestant feeling in Scotland, and the stronger that became the

nearer was Scotland drawn to England and the further from France. To be French in sympathy was now to be Roman Catholic, and that fact changed everything.

If the burning of Wishart were the chief cause of the change the change itself was indicated unmistakably by what looked like an act of mean revenge—the murder of Cardinal Beaton, who stood for the old order of things in Scotland. He was not a good man, and he was committed to a hopeless cause, but it was hardly justifiable to slay him. There had been plots, partly English, partly Scottish, against Beaton in 1544 and 1545, but nothing came of them. It was in May 1546, nearly three months after the death of Wishart, that a band of young Scottish lairds burst into the cardinal's bed-chamber in the castle of St Andrews and slew him there. No direct support of the conspiracy seems to have come from England, and it is important to notice that by the Scots themselves such a revolutionary act could be done. It was a sign that among the nobles and lairds there was a revolt against the Church and the French alliance. We shall see presently how real the revolt was and how far it was to go.

There was now a great fight for the castle of St Andrews. The murderers of Beaton held it, but the Government (*i.e.* Arran and Mary of Lorraine) and the bulk of the nation were against them. So the castle was besieged from August to December 1546. There were negotiations with Rome about absolution for the murderers. In the following year (1547) the siege was resumed, the English now warmly backing the garrison. But on their side the besiegers were helped by a fleet of French galleys, which came to their aid so effectively that in July 1547 the castle had to yield, and the murderers of Beaton and their supporters were taken to France, and either imprisoned or used as galley-slaves.

Among the galley-slaves was one who has left us a

wonderfully vivid account of the slaying of Beaton and the capture of the castle—the great reformer, John Knox—who, as we said, was almost to mould Scottish Protestantism according to his own will. The chief points of Knox's character and the outlines of his life ought to be quite familiar to all who would understand Scottish history.

Born at Haddington, in East Lothian, in 1505, Knox was educated at Glasgow University, and was in Holy Orders of the Roman Church until he was nearly forty. Of this part of his life, however, we know no particulars. He returned to Lothian, and became tutor to the sons of two country lairds. Then the teaching of Wishart seems to have taken possession of him. We hear of no definite conversion from Roman Catholicism: the man seems suddenly to find himself and come alive in the new teaching. Henceforward the Church whose orders he held was to Knox Antichrist; its doctrine was false; its central rite idolatry. When Wishart preached Knox used to carry a two-handed sword before him, a fitting emblem of the fierceness and stern reality of Scottish Protestantism. After Wishart's death and the cardinal's Knox was so identified with the Protestant party that he joined the defenders of St Andrews in April 1547, capitulated with them, and was sent to France with the rest. While in St Andrews Knox acted as a Protestant missionary, and sometimes prayed and preached in the parish church. It was in such preachings here and there that the reformed Church in Scotland had its beginnings.

Before the fall of St Andrews, in July 1547, Henry VIII. passed away, and Francis I. of France followed him on 31st March. These events hurried on the changes in Scotland in more ways than one. Henry VIII. had never really taken up with Protestant opinions, and while he lived he kept the most revolutionary of them from spreading in England. As soon as he died they flowed into and over the land much more freely, especially those

of the Swiss reformer Zwingli, and during the short reign of Edward VI. a serious attempt was made to Protestantise the Church of England, as Protestantism was understood in Germany and Switzerland. For this reason, during the reign of Edward VI., the Scottish reformers got more sympathy from England than they got either before or since.

The death of Francis I. affected Scotland by much increasing the power of the Guise family, to which the queen-mother belonged, both in France and Scotland. It was by the co-operation of Mary of Lorraine and her two brothers, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, that the French fleet was sent to attack St Andrews, and we shall soon see how much more was wrought by it.

Meanwhile, in the autumn of 1547, Hertford (now the Duke of Somerset, and Protector of England during the king's nonage) made the last of his terrible invasions of Scotland in order to force an alliance with England and the marriage between Edward and Mary. Somerset marched north at the head of 18,000 men, and at Pinkie Cleuch, near Musselburgh, heavily defeated the Scots. It seemed as if Scotland must be conquered by such a blow, but the Scottish Government called on France for aid, and got it effectively. In June 1548, before Somerset could take many steps to follow up his success, French ships arrived, and landed a considerable French force on Scottish soil. Before the end of 1549 French and Scots together had expelled the English invaders from all the fortresses they had taken in Scotland. Thus began the last, and in many respects, the closest, alliance between Scotland and France, just before the two lands were to separate their fortunes for ever. The aims of Henry VIII. and Somerset were utterly thwarted. Almost as soon as the French landed in Scotland they got the Scottish Parliament to agree that the little queen should

be betrothed to the Dauphin—*i.e.* the eldest son of Henry II. of France. In 1550, after the English were driven out, a treaty was made, not between England and Scotland, but between England and France, by which England promised France to withdraw wholly from Scotland, as if Scotland were a dependency of France! And, indeed, it very nearly was so. In August 1548 Queen Mary, a child of six, was taken to France to be brought up there, and Henry of France said: "France and Scotland are now one."

In its present condition Mary of Lorraine was virtually supreme in Scotland, and she became actually so in 1554. She got Arran to lay down his office and the Parliament to accept her as regent in that year. Mary of Lorraine held office for five years, the most critical years of Scottish history. She set up a purely French administration, and the unity of Scotland and France was plain to all men.

We must now turn our thoughts for a moment to John Knox, whom we left slaving in the French galleys. In 1549 he was allowed to return to England, and for the rest of Edward's VI.'s reign he remained there, even becoming one of the king's chaplains. But in 1553 began the reign of the Roman Catholic Mary Tudor, and Knox with other Protestants had to withdraw to the Continent. He betook himself to Geneva, the scene of the French Protestant John Calvin's labours; we shall soon see with what results.

Mary of Lorraine's position was at once attacked. Something worthy to be called a national revolt arose both against French influence and the Roman Catholicism with which it was associated. In 1556 the nobles obliged the regent to withdraw a proposal for a standing army, and in 1557 they refused to invade England at the regent's bidding. These were signs of the times. In April 1558 Mary Stewart was married to the Dauphin in the great Church of Nôtre Dame at Paris. France was now at war with Spain (whose king, the famous Philip II.,

was the husband of Mary Tudor), and was hard pressed, so the alliance with Scotland was very necessary to it. We now know that it was arranged by a secret treaty that if Mary had no child Scotland was to go to the French Crown. It was even proposed that the Scottish crown should be sent to France to be placed on the Dauphin's head. Among the Scottish lords and lairds there was a growing party in opposition to the Church and the regent. The Scottish bishops and monasteries were much richer than the bulk of the nobles, and thus the nobles were jealous of them and anxious to pull them down and make spoil of them. This made a worldly but a very strong element in Scottish Protestantism. In 1555-6 Knox paid a flying visit to Scotland, in the course of which he put himself in sympathy with these reforming nobles, if we may call them so. In December 1557 a group of them, known as Lords of the Congregation, made a covenant to take no rest until they had made the reformed faith the faith of Scotland. The chief of those who signed were the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Morton, Lord Lorne, and Erskine, the laird of Dun, in Forfarshire. It was the first of many such agreements. During all those years the reign of Mary Tudor was going on in England. She was a very strong Roman Catholic, and her husband, Philip II. of Spain, was at the head of the strongest and most aggressive Roman Catholic state in Europe. Mary was bent on crushing the Reformation in England, and as it was not really a very hardy plant she succeeded in doing so. There was much burning and exiling of the so-called heretics; among them Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Ridley and Latimer suffered death by burning, at Oxford. This policy only served to deepen anti-Roman feeling both in England and Scotland, but it did really bring to an end that special phase of Swiss or Zwinglian Protestantism which marked the reign of Edward VI.

Fortunately for the Reformation Mary Tudor died in

1558, and her half-sister Elizabeth, who succeeded her, though she was neither a Zwinglian nor a Calvinist, was as little a Roman Catholic, and had, indeed, no mind that either Church or State in England should be subject to any foreign influences. Protestant exiles could now safely return to Britain, and a great stimulus was given by the change of queens to Protestantism in Scotland. The Lords of the Congregation held more closely together, increased in number, and grew bolder; while the preachers, the men who believed and taught that Rome was Antichrist and the Mass idolatry, became every day a more formidable force to reckon with. At the beginning of 1559 all the materials were gathered together for a revolution in Scotland. The regent and the French alliance seemed strong, but they were tottering to their fall. In less than two years the revolution was wrought out.

On 2nd May 1559 John Knox arrived in Edinburgh, this time not to go abroad again. He had been, we remember, at Geneva, where Calvin had set up his wonderful system of doctrine and Church government, and he came back a thoroughgoing Calvinist, which was more than the Lords of the Congregation had yet been. A definite set of doctrines and a definite ecclesiastical plan were just what the Protestant preachers needed to make them strong enough to cope with the Roman Catholic system, and Knox came back able and willing to provide them with both. The lower ranks of the people were in a sullen and discontented mood, and brought, in the shape of what they called a "Beggar's Summons," a heavy charge against the friars who ought to have been their helpers. The time was ripe for a rising among the people as well as for revolt among the nobles and lairds. The revolution came quickly. The regent summoned the preachers to confer with her at Stirling in May, and the Protestant lords and gentlemen massed themselves at Perth to protect them. The regent after some hesitation outlawed the preachers.

Then Knox preached a sermon in the kirk of St John, at Perth, which had a terrible result. It shows the strange mixture of religions at the time that Mass was celebrated in the church just after the Protestant sermon. Knox had been teaching that the Mass was idolatry, and so it is not wonderful that the mob thought that violence, even in the sacred building, was but a show of proper religious zeal. There was an outburst of stone-throwing and image-breaking, and for a day or two after Perth was given up to destructive riot.

After all that had come and gone this could be but the prelude to civil war. On the one side were the Lords of the Congregation and the preachers, on the other the regent and the established Government. The Protestants held to Perth; the regent moved towards Perth from the south-west and negotiated. The Protestants asked for freedom of worship; the regent reluctantly granted it, and was allowed to enter Perth. The Protestants moved their headquarters to St Andrews, and the regent followed to Falkland. The Protestant forces were so much greater than those of the Government that the regent dared not risk an open fight. By the end of June the Protestants were in possession of Edinburgh itself.

The Protestant fervour which brought about such great things was, however, rather too hot to last. The excited peasants who followed the Lords of the Congregation were ready to do a great deal of image-breaking, but they had their farming work to attend to, and were not able to bear a long struggle against the forces at the command of the old religion and of the great nobles who remained faithful to it, reinforced as they were by powerful French help.

And so Knox and the Congregation were made to feel that Scottish Protestantism was not self-sufficing, even for an internal struggle, and now that Elizabeth reigned in England there was but one possible ally for it. Elizabeth must be asked to help the Lords of the Congregation.

Was there any good ground for hoping that she would do so? As we have seen, she was no lover of reformed doctrines any more than her father had been, and she disliked John Knox, chiefly because he had written a book against female rule called "The Monstrous Regimen of Women," aimed at his enemy, the regent, Mary of Lorraine. Her doubts, however, were gradually removed by her statesmen, and especially by Sir William Cecil, who felt that the safety of the Reformation in both countries made it necessary that they should work together.

Still more convincing to Elizabeth was the quick march of events in France. In 1559 the Dauphin succeeded to his father's crown, and Mary Stewart, becoming queen of France, called herself also queen of England.

It was some time before Elizabeth could be got to speak and act as the Protestants wished, but the danger from France at last overbore her scruples, and in January 1560 she sent ships to bar the Firth of Forth against any more French ships. Meanwhile the Scoto-French army retired into Leith, which was besieged by the Lords of the Congregation and the English allies. In July it surrendered, and the new alliance between English and Scots was turned into a great fact of world history by the Treaty of Edinburgh between the recent foes. By that treaty it was agreed—(1) that the French were to take all their forces back into France; (2) that King Francis and Queen Mary were to revoke all writings in which they had used the style of England. The government of Scotland was to be in the hands of the Scottish nation. No armed French force was to remain in Scotland; there was to be perpetual peace between England and Scotland.

Thus then at last England and Scotland were bound together, as closely at least as arms and diplomacy could bind them. But the real tie was sympathy in *religion*; we shall see whether and in what sense that tie was really a firm one.

It was a strange fate that still bound France and Scotland together. For 300 years Catholic France had influenced Scotland, civilly and politically; now Protestant France (for we must not forget that there was much Protestantism in France though the nation never became Protestant) was to help and influence her, religiously and ecclesiastically, for centuries to come.

After the Treaty of Edinburgh it was necessary to do something to systematise the new religion in Scotland, for as a mere faith of scattered congregations, however zealous, it would have been a poor rival to the old faith with its definite doctrines and dogmas and its strict and watchful discipline. Before his final return to Scotland John Knox, we know, had been at Geneva and had learned from Calvin. We ought, therefore, now to try to know something about *him*.

John Chauvin, or Calvin, was one of the most wonderful men who have ever professed the Christian religion. He was born in Picardy in 1509, and educated there, at Orleans, and at Bourges. He was a studious and very temperate youth, with a great knowledge of Latin, and was brought up for the law. By the reading of the Bible he was prepared to fall in with the new ideas about religion, though, like Knox, he still belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. At Bourges he even began to teach; but the Government was bent on putting down Protestantism, and Calvin had to leave Paris, where he had established himself. He was much given to careful reasoning, and soon felt that the new faith must be reasoned out and made to act on men for their *government* in this life as well as for their salvation in another. As early as 1536, therefore, he published an "Institution of the Christian Religion," written in Latin, which builds up on the foundation of the Bible a whole system of theology with great power and clearness. Various circumstances led Calvin to Geneva, where after a time he settled down,

and where he organised a church without bishops or any other inequality among the ministers, but with a very strict system of discipline. So powerful was this church that it really governed the city of Geneva in all its affairs.

Now while Knox was at Geneva he had an opportunity of seeing Calvin's doctrines and practice in their working; and when the Treaty of Edinburgh had given the Scottish Protestants real power, and they began to think about a theology and a church, Knox naturally aimed at doing in Scotland what Calvin had done so successfully at Geneva. Soon after the French had left Scotland the Protestant Church began to take something like definite shape. For the present, however, it remained hardly more than several groups of missionary preachers—Knox himself, stationed at Edinburgh, being their head and regulator. But extremely important steps quickly followed. The Roman Catholic religion, a mass, as the reformers believed, of idolatry and soul-killing error, was still the national religion of Scotland. In those days there was no idea of what we call *toleration*; nobody believed that two religions might go on peacefully together within the same country, whether one of the two was nominally the national religion or not. Therefore to the Protestants it seemed certain that the Roman Catholic Church must not be allowed to exist within the bounds of Scotland; that the ground might be left perfectly clear for the new church. That the nation was now Protestant was made plain by what the Scottish Parliament did in August 1560. It is curious to compare it, in its directness and completeness, with the many slow changes by which Roman Catholicism gave place to Anglicanism south of the Tweed. The Scottish Estates had a set of Protestant doctrines (known as the "Confession of Faith") laid before them by the preachers, and this system they accepted. Then they formally abolished the Roman Catholic Church in Scot-

land, making it punishable (with death for the third offence) to say or hear Mass.

The ground then was clear, but the new Protestant Church had to be built up on it. That was the work now laid upon Knox, the follower of Calvin, fresh from Geneva and full of what he had seen there. It turned out very difficult. A great, though in a sense unconscious, step towards organising a new church was taken when, on 20th December 1560, the first General Assembly of the reformed Church was held at Edinburgh. It was an unconscious step inasmuch as it was little more than a general meeting of the reformers to consider the situation and plan further action. But it was a great step, because the General Assembly became, as we shall see, the central and characteristic institution of the Scottish Presbyterian Church, and even, in a very real sense, of the Scottish nation itself, between 1560 and 1707.

Early in 1561 the constitution of a Protestant Church, called the "First Book of Discipline," was laid before Parliament. It recognised three orders in the Church—(1) ministers, chosen and set apart by the congregation; (2) lay elders to assist the ministers in their spiritual duties, similarly chosen and set apart; (3) deacons chosen by minister and elders to help in temporal affairs. Besides the three regular orders there were to be ten superintendents or overseers of districts, elected by the congregations of the districts. The Church was to be organised in General Assemblies and provincial Synods. It was a wonderful work, and it undertook, as Calvin had so successfully undertaken, to regulate the earthly as well as the spiritual affairs of the nation according to what the Protestants believed to be God's will. Because of its boldness it aroused much opposition in the Scottish Parliament, for it is seldom that the state will consent to put itself under the Church. One of the things assumed by the "Book of Discipline" was that the wealth which

had belonged to the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland would go to the Protestant ministers, to education, and to poor relief. This was unjust in itself, for the ministers of the old faith ought to have been allowed to keep part at least of what they were still honourably entitled to. Besides, many of the Protestant magnates had become Protestant just that they might get some of the wealth of the clergy. So, although the "First Book" got some support in the Parliament of January 1561, it did not then, nor for a long time after, become the law of the land.

So much for the Church; what of the State? The head of the Scottish State was the Roman Catholic queen of France: what was she going to do, and how submissive were the Scottish Roman Catholics going to be?—for no Act of Parliament could abolish them, though it might prevent them from worshipping God as their conscience bade them do.

When 1561 began Mary Stewart was queen of France, but she was a widow. King Francis II. died suddenly in December 1560, and there was now nothing to prevent Mary from coming to Scotland and ruling there as queen. This was bad for the Protestants and good for the Roman Catholics. Mary did not leave France until she had felt her way a little in Scottish affairs. At last she set sail, and on the 19th of August 1561 she landed at Leith, the port of Edinburgh. In those latitudes and longitudes the air, even in August, is often thick with chill, damp mist brought inland from the North Sea, and so it was when the gay and beautiful French queen came to take up her impossible task in Scotland. "The very face of heaven," wrote John Knox, "did manifestly speak . . . for in the memory of man, that day of the year, was never seen a more dolorous face of the heaven . . . the mist was so thick and so dark, that scarce might any man espy any other the length of two pair of boots." It was in the morning that she landed, and in the evening she arrived

at Holyrood House, the palace on which we look down from the Calton Hill at Edinburgh, of which every stone seems to speak to us of Mary and her difficulties and her miseries. The August night was lit up with bonfires, and the Edinburgh air was alive with merry minstrelsy. Then the troubles began, and there seemed no way out of them.

Mary reigned six years in Scotland—from August 1561 to June 1567. Those were essentially years of *compromise*: that is to say, an attempt was made to satisfy somehow the claims of the Protestants on the one hand and of the Roman Catholics, with the queen at their head, on the other. But such a policy can succeed only when toleration is believed in, and we have seen that in Scotland at this time there was no such thing as toleration. Therefore attempts at compromise could only end in civil war.

For a time the beautiful young queen's presence in her capital helped the fortunes of the Roman Catholics, and Knox had to feel that there was a Romanist reaction around him, and to learn yet another lesson of the "Monstrous Regimen of Women," for, after the long regency by a stranger, Scotland had now, if not a national head, at least a rallying-point for all that was anti-Protestant.

Knox was also made to feel that very many of the Lords of the Congregation cared little for the religious side of Protestantism. Their patriotism was satisfied by the driving out of the French and their greed by the fall of the rich old episcopate. They could bear a new creed, and had accepted the Calvinistic doctrines without scruple, but they disliked the kind of severe rule which they knew the Protestant ministers would hold over them if they had power to do so. And so Knox had much to trouble him and make him downhearted.

Some attempt at compromise in religion was made necessary by the queen's resolve to have the rites of her Church at Holyrood. Here the Protestants, and not Mary, were the offenders against toleration. Though the queen

insisted on breaking the law in her own favour she insisted that it should be kept by everybody else, and that Protestantism should for the present remain the religion of the Scottish nation. But Knox and the preachers maintained that the Mass was idolatry and therefore intolerable. "One Mass," said Knox, "was more fearful to him than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm, of purpose to suppress the whole religion."

The attempt at *political* compromise rose out of the relations between Scotland and England. Mary was Elizabeth's nearest relative, although she was only her first cousin once removed, and as such she was the heiress-presumptive of the English Crown, and would certainly succeed to it unless Elizabeth either married and had a child or declared herself decidedly against Mary's succession. Religion and politics between them made the situation very complicated and difficult. If Mary should succeed Elizabeth England and Scotland would have the same queen, and the best *political* aspirations of both English and Scottish Protestants would be satisfied. But if, at the same time, Mary remained a Roman Catholic, Protestantism would be ruined both in England and Scotland, and Britain might become a dependency of France. The two chief advisers of Mary at the beginning of her reign were her brother, Lord James Stewart, who became Earl of Moray, and Maitland, the laird of Lethington. Moray was really only half-brother of the queen, being an illegitimate son of James V. He was a zealous Protestant, and looked upon as the leader of the Lords of the Congregation. By Elizabeth's ministers he was greatly respected, as being of "much honour and great fidelity," as "a very honourable, sincere, and godly gentleman." William Maitland of Lethington, "a man of good learning and of sharp wit and reasoning," was also on the side of the Lords of the Congregation, but of his

"godliness," at least in Knox's sense of the word, there was much question. He was a wily politician and a born diplomatist.

At the beginning of Mary's reign, then, there was among the party of compromise led by Moray and Lethington great hope of two things—that Mary would become a Protestant, and that Elizabeth would acknowledge her as her successor. But Knox and the preachers generally could not share that hope. Knox had an interview with Mary (the first of several) soon after her arrival. It was a wonderful moment—one of the moments in history that it makes one thrill to think of—when the beautiful young woman, standing for the venerable and assured faith of ages and generations, met face to face the bold and stern and simple man to whom that faith was sin, and who was yet clad with a power that seemed irresistible. Knox has left us an account of what passed between them, every word of which bites like an acid. At the end of the interview Knox said to the queen: "I pray God, madam, that ye may be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland, if it be the pleasure of God, as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel." But there was no hope in the respectful words. Knox, even thus early, said to his "familiars": "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and His truth, my judgment faileth me."

The party of compromise worked hard. They were very anxious that Elizabeth and Mary should meet, and a meeting was nearly brought about in 1562, but it broke down because Elizabeth espoused the cause of the French Protestants in their first civil war with the Roman Catholics in France.

Meanwhile Mary made some progresses which helped her cause and that of Rome. At one point, however, she was curiously checked. If anywhere in Scotland Mary might have expected to have a complete triumph in the

north-east, in the great district with Aberdeen for its centre, which the House of Huntly ruled almost as an independent principality. For this district was obstinately Roman Catholic, and it had a character, partly feudal, partly clannish, which marked it off and made it capable of warm attachments. The Earl of Huntly had influence even in what is now Inverness-shire and Ross-shire; he was called the "Cock of the North"; he held almost royal state in his castle of Strathbogie. In August 1562 the queen drew near to the seat of her powerful subject. She was accompanied by her brother, the Earl of Moray, many of whose lands were actually subject to Huntly. Both for personal, religious, and patriotic reasons Moray was bound to think of Huntly as a foe. Moreover, a son of Huntly, a certain Sir John Gordon, who is said to have been a lover of the queen, had been imprisoned in Stirling Castle for deadly brawling in the streets of Edinburgh, and had been set free before his term was out. The queen ordered the young man back into ward, and refused to visit Huntly at Strathbogie until he had gone. All this created a dangerous situation, and Huntly's attitude soon became that of a rebel. The queen was refused admittance to the castle of Inverness; so soon can war spring up! The queen's forces took the castle and hanged the governor; then while she and Moray were moving eastwards Huntly followed with hostile intent, and a fight took place at Corrichie, about twenty miles west of Aberdeen, in which the royal forces were victorious and Huntly was slain. His son was soon afterwards beheaded. This was really a victory for the nation and for Protestantism rather than for the queen. Yet, as long as she remained both popular and steadfast to the old faith, Protestantism, either as Knox understood it or as Moray and Lethington understood it, could not be practised as the religion of Scotland. On the whole it was a case of nearly balanced forces, with Romanism appreciably in the ascendant. Knox and Mary had several

interviews, which moved neither; Moray and Lethington went on trying compromise. The question of another husband for the young widowed queen began to come to the front. It was a question of the greatest importance both to the Protestants and to Queen Elizabeth, because if Mary could not be got to change her religion it would at least be some safety to both Scotland and England if she married a Protestant husband. Various suitors were proposed for her. Elizabeth wanted her to marry Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, a great favourite of her own. He was a Protestant, and all the Protestants, even Knox, would have favoured the marriage. But it came to nothing. The years were going on, and care about the matter was in every heart. It was certain to prove a turning-point.

Suddenly from an unexpected, and to all Protestants a very unwelcome, quarter a suitor and husband for Mary appeared. We must remind ourselves of the Earl of Lennox, the husband of the daughter of Margaret Tudor by her second husband, the Earl of Angus. In the days after Solway Moss Lennox had been the foremost of the "assured Scots" who were friendly to the English king, and for that he was banished to England, and his Scottish estates were forfeited. English as he had been he was a firm Roman Catholic, and in 1564 Mary, feeling how valuable to her would be his presence in Scotland, got Elizabeth to allow him to return thither, and the Scottish Parliament revoked the forfeiture of his estates.

The Earl of Lennox had a son, Henry Stewart, called Lord Darnley. As he and Queen Mary had the same grandmother, Margaret Tudor (though their grandfathers were different), they were first cousins, and Darnley besides was heir-presumptive of the Scottish Crown. In February 1565 Darnley came to Scotland to see his old father, and in a fateful moment he met the queen at Wemyss Castle, in Fife. They loved at first sight; what diplomacy had failed to do was done quickly by nature. A marriage

was arranged between the cousins, the diplomatic labours of Moray and Lethington were brought to naught, and Knox and "the godly" were in despair. The marriage was celebrated at Holyrood in July 1565.

The union between Mary and Darnley marks the highest point of Romanist reaction in Scotland, as well as the only point of anything like prosperity in poor Mary's career. After her marriage the queen made a great progress through Scotland, in which she was opposed by the Protestants here and there, and especially at Dumfries, but which ended in her complete triumph. Moray, with other lords also under sentence of outlawry, retired to England. Mary was accompanied throughout by Darnley, to whom was granted the title of "King of the Scots."

But the prosperity was as brief as it was bright. Protestantism in Scotland was too strong to be crushed, and as things soon began to go seriously wrong with Mary the Protestants had again a great opportunity. Darnley turned out a bad husband for Mary; he was stupid, cruel, and jealous. For his jealousy, indeed, he made a pretext. High in the queen's favour was her foreign secretary, an Italian named David Riccio. He was an attractive young man, a great musician, and fond of gay attire and jewels. Darnley alleged that Mary's interest in Riccio was greater than that which a faithful wife should have felt. The Protestants were with Darnley in hating Riccio, for he stood for foreign and papal influence at the Scottish court, and the Protestant magnates specially hated him, as native nobles have always hated foreign upstarts. On 9th March 1566, while Riccio was at supper with the queen, three of the leading Protestant magnates—Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay—acting under Darnley's directions, burst into the presence and slew Riccio there. After such a deed it was not likely there could be much besides hatred between Mary and Darnley. Moray and the other exiled Protestant lords arrived in Edinburgh;

the opportunity for Protestantism had come. Mary fled with her husband, who, now Riccio was out of the way, rallied to the side of his wife, much to the disgust of his Protestant fellow-conspirators. It seemed as if civil war was at hand, as indeed it was. But a bloody and mysterious crime was first to be wrought.

In June 1566 Mary, once more in Edinburgh Castle, bore to Darnley a son, afterwards James VI. of Scotland and James I. of England, who by ruling both lands was in a very real sense, though not in the fullest sense, to unite them. Mary and Darnley, as parents of this child —poor king as he turned out—did something for their country and for the world, but for themselves a bitter fate was in store.

James Hepburn, the fourth Earl of Bothwell, was one of the greatest of the Scottish magnates. He held large estates in the south-east, and he was Warden of the Scottish March with England, as well as Great Admiral of Scotland. The adhesion of such a man was a matter of great importance to any cause, and Mary secured that of Bothwell, though he was a Protestant, when her love for Darnley was dead and she was in danger from the Protestant lords. In the winter of 1566-7 Mary was seeing more of Bothwell than of her husband. Meanwhile Darnley was becoming more and more unpopular and more and more the victim of conspiracy, Bothwell being always looked on as leader of the party against him. Between the queen and Darnley there were very bad relations; in January 1567 Mary nursed him in illness at Glasgow; in February they went to Edinburgh together. Darnley was still an invalid, and was lodged in the Kirk o' Field, a house by the city wall, near the site of the university buildings. On the night of 9th February the queen left him to go to a ball at Holyrood, and before morning dawned the Kirk o' Field was blown up with gunpowder, and Darnley was lying dead among the ruins.

Had the queen any hand in her husband's murder? Men have debated this question from the morning after the event happened until the present day, but there is not, and there never will nor can be, any absolute certainty about the matter. Fortunately, the extent of Mary's guilt is of hardly any real importance to Scottish history. What is certain about her behaviour in the crisis is suspicious. There is at least no doubt that Bothwell was a chief agent in the murder. Yet after a hurried trial he was acquitted, and soon after he was with the queen in the castle of Dunbar. Then he divorced his wife, and in May Queen Mary married him.

From such a tissue of horrors the only possible escape was by civil war. By her strange conduct Mary had given to Scottish Protestantism and Scottish unity just the kind of impulse they needed to bring them to real triumph. A month after her marriage with Bothwell the queen's forces were heavily defeated at Carberry Hill, near Musselburgh (June 1567). Mary soon after was lodged in Lochleven Castle, where she abdicated in favour of her infant son. Moray was again to be regent, and a group of magnates, among whom was Châtelherault, was to carry on the government while Moray was in France.

Mary remained a prisoner for a year. In spite of the success of Protestantism Moray had a very difficult task, chiefly owing to the treachery of the House of Hamilton. In May 1568 Mary's partisans set her free from Lochleven, that she might make a rush for the Hamilton region in the west. At Langside, however, close to Glasgow, she encountered the regent's forces, and was once more defeated, this time decisively. She fled to England, to hang on the cruel mercies of Elizabeth, and Scotland went on working out its destinies without the disturbance of her bewitching presence.

If the future of Scotland was with Protestantism it might seem that now at last that future was assured. In

1567, the year before Mary's final departure from Scotland, something was done towards building up the Protestant Church. One of the "Conventions" or meetings of the Estates so frequent in those years was held at Edinburgh in December, by which the Reformation Statutes of 1560 were confirmed. We may if we like date the "Establishment"—as it is called—of Protestantism from this year. But we must never forget that Scottish Protestantism, though it burst out so suddenly, took almost as long to consolidate and settle as Anglicanism did in England. Ever since 1560 the Reformed Church had been going on in Scotland, with its ministers, elders, deacons, and superintendents; its synods, and, above all, its frequent General Assemblies. Of these last there were fifteen between December 1560 and December 1567. But up to 1567 it had the protection rather than the formal authorisation of the State. As to its provision or "endowment" there were two stages. In 1561 and 1562 it was settled that a third of the revenues of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland was to go, partly to the support of the Protestant ministers, partly to general State purposes, while the remaining two-thirds were to be kept by the "auld possessouris." This caused much heart-burning among the Protestants.

Favourable to Scotland as Mary's departure certainly was, she left many very serious difficulties behind her. First among those was that ever-recurring evil in Scotland—the infancy of the wearer of the crown. King James VI., the child of Mary and "King" Darnley, was only two years old when his mother fled. Then, secondly, there was the fact that the exiled queen herself was still in Britain, and remained there, as a centre and source of disturbance and irritation, not only to England but to Scotland. Thirdly, Scotland was heavily weighted with the curse of religious division, and that division was really a double one. For not only was a large section

of the Scottish nation still Roman Catholic, but among the Protestants themselves there was deep division. The unity of selfish and worldly Lords of the Congregation with impassioned "Preachers" like Knox had accomplished great things in 1559, but was good for very little in 1568. There were "moderate" Protestants and extreme Protestants; there were Protestants anxious to maintain bishops and Protestants eager to do away with them; the Protestantism even of the Regent Moray was not as that of Knox. Lastly, though the Scottish magnates were more patriotic than they had been in previous centuries, they were still too apt to be self-seeking and factious.

Regency of Moray (1567-1570). Between the abdication of Mary and the beginning of the personal rule of the boy-king James in 1578 there were four short regencies—those of Moray, Lennox, Mar, and Morton. Moray was soon made to realise the difficulties of his position. On his side were all the Protestantism of Scotland, active chiefly in the towns, and a section of the magnates, including the Earls of Morton and Mar. Against him were, of course, all the Roman Catholics, who were very numerous in some parts of the country—*e.g.* the north and north-east, and in the shires of Dumfries and Wigtown; and some of the greatest of the magnates, including the Earls of Huntly and Argyll, and—most formidable of all—the great House of Hamilton, with its near claim to the throne.*

Moray's first object was to try to assert the authority of King James against those who were actually holding out for the lost cause. Many were outlawed, and suffered

* If Moray could have counted on steady support from England he might have overcome all the difficulties. But Elizabeth was much perplexed by the presenee of Mary in England. She feared and distrusted her, as she had good reason to do; but, on the other hand, she hated the rebellion of subjects, and she disliked the peculiarities of Scottish Protestantism. The misfortune of the Queen of Scots roused the English Catholics against Elizabeth, and so there was dismay and confusion in the English councils.

the forfeiture of their estates, Huntly and Argyll escaping this fate by the intervention of Queen Elizabeth.

Between October 1568 and January 1569 there was much negotiation between Scotland and England about their common interests and about the poor prisoner-queen. At a conference at York in October the Earl of Morton produced a silver casket of Francis II. given by Mary to Bothwell, which he said contained letters proving that Mary had planned Darnley's murder. No very decisive result came of the negotiations. Elizabeth declared that she believed no evil of Mary; but, on the other hand, she ratified Moray's position and authority, so that he might with some confidence rely on her support for the future.

Moray certainly needed all the support he could get, for the Marian party was strong and threatening. Civil war, indeed, was avoided, but the regent had to go on using force. The Duke of Châtelherault, one of the most powerful of the Hamiltons, was shut up in Edinburgh Castle; and though Moray left their freedom to Argyll and Huntly he took troops into the North to enforce order.

Two of the regent's most troublesome opponents were our old friend Maitland of Lethington and Kirkcaldy of Grange. Moray still looked upon Kirkcaldy as loyal to King James, and he put him in command at Edinburgh Castle. But he was really hostile, and Maitland of Lethington was consistently so. He had had a hand in Darnley's murder, and in the autumn of 1569 he was openly charged with this. There was talk of a trial, which was, however, postponed, and Maitland joined Kirkcaldy in the castle of Edinburgh, which became the central stronghold of disaffection.

At this time (1569) the thrones of Elizabeth and James and the Protestantism of Britain were threatened by a rising of the northern earls, led by the Earls of Northumber-

land and Westmoreland. When that revolt was put down in England the rebels took refuge in Scotland, and Moray caught and imprisoned Northumberland. On all sides he showed himself firm and vigorous, and he had on his side the forces which were ultimately to prevail.

But the enmity of the regent's foes was unslumbering, especially among the Hamiltons. One of that family, James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, resolved to make away with Moray. In the end of January 1570 Hamilton was at Linlithgow, where his family had great power. Moray had been in the West, trying unsuccessfully to take the rock of Dumbarton from the Marian party. On his way back to Edinburgh, as he was riding through Linlithgow, he was shot from a window by the laird of Bothwellhaugh, and in a few hours was dead. John Knox preached his funeral sermon in St Giles kirk on February 14th. For six months there was no regent in Scotland to govern for the infant-king. The loss of Moray, who, whatever his faults may have been, was staunch to the two strongest things in Scotland—Protestantism and the English connection—was a great disaster, as events soon showed. Everything in that spring of 1570 made for disorder and misrule. The murderers of Moray were not punished. Maitland was set free, and openly joined the Hamilton faction. There were a "king's party" and a "queen's party" in Scotland, and the queen's party daily became more aggressive and warlike. Then England intervened in a way new since many years. Raiding on the border, which Moray had done a great deal to check, began again; and, to punish a raid, Elizabeth in April sent the Earl of Sussex into Scotland with a large force, which did some effective work. The English "did burn and spoil all along the river of Rule and the water of Kale." They overthrew Fernyhurst, burned Hawick, and destroyed Branksome, the strength of Buccleuch, of which we read in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel.* Meanwhile the queen's

party was strong in Linlithgow, and had, indeed, proclaimed Mary. To those regions the English force under Drury advanced; they destroyed the palace of the Hamiltons, and entered Edinburgh in conjunction with the king's party.

Regency of Lennox (July 1570—September 1571). This display of English force broke up the queen's party for the moment; and the Earl of Lennox, the king's grandfather, was made regent. He was far on in life, and not in any way a strong man; and the real leader of the king's party was the Earl of Morton, of whom we shall soon hear more.

If the English invasion had done good to one party it had much exasperated the other, and henceforward there was real civil war in Scotland. No great battles were fought, but it was war nevertheless. The chief objects of the king's party were to take the castles of Dumbarton and Edinburgh. Dumbarton was cleverly taken, in April 1571, by Captain Thomas Crawford. Edinburgh Castle was strongly held by Kirkcaldy of Grange and Maitland of Lethington, but the town and the neighbouring port of Leith were for the king. The struggle for the castle was called "the war between Leith and Edinburgh."

In August 1571 a convention was held by the regent at Stirling, at which little five-years-old King James was made to be present. It is said that the child seeing a hole—some say in the ceiling, some in the table-cloth—called out: "There is a hole in this Parliament!" The words seemed to have a symbolic meaning. The king's party came suddenly from Edinburgh to Stirling, and there was fighting in the streets. The government of Lennox was victorious, but he himself was slain.

Regency of Mar (September 1571—October 1572). Although Morton was the strongest man on the king's side, the Earl of Mar was at once made regent in Lennox's

place. During his year of office his duties were purely military. The civil war went on, and the main object of the king's party was to take Edinburgh Castle. In spite of a vigorous siege the castle held out firmly. The king's party maintained themselves at Leith, and there was much fighting in the Edinburgh streets. Nor was the fighting confined to Edinburgh. It was, in fact, the darkest hour of this sad little war, and there was much bloodshed in many parts of the land. Men remember best the fight by the "Craib-stane" on the Dee, near Aberdeen, on 9th October 1571, where the Gordons met and routed the Forbeses. After the fight the Gordons did a shameful thing. They pressed on to the castle of Towie, which was held by the lady of it in her lord's absence. Gordon called on her to surrender, and when she refused he set fire to the castle, burning her and a little child. It is of this horror that we read in the poem called *Edom o' Gordon.* On the whole the war helped the queen's party.

While Mar was regent, but by the influence of Morton, a very important thing was done in the slow and varied process of building up the Scottish Church. We must never forget that up to this time the Church had not made up its mind whether it would keep bishops (whether so-called or no) or do away with them. It had decided to have nothing to do with the Pope; it had adopted the government by General Assemblies suggested by Calvin's system at Geneva; but we have seen that John Knox held that superior and "superintending" ministers (such as bishops are) could go along with General Assemblies. So it is not wonderful that in the year 1572, in spite of what had been done towards changing the Church, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and friars were still found in it, though not exercising any of the powers indicated by those names.

Now to Morton and many others of the Protestant magnates it seemed a very good thing to keep bishops in the Scottish Church, not, indeed, because superior clergy

made the Church do its spiritual work better (for they cared nothing about that), but because bishops got large incomes, and, if bishops disappeared, their incomes would melt away and be lost. It seemed desirable, therefore, to revise and strengthen the Episcopal element in the Church for fear Presbyterianism should destroy it. Morton's plan was to have nominal bishops appointed, who should pass over their incomes to the lay lords, while they themselves lived on the modest revenues of plain Presbyterian ministers. Such bishops were nicknamed "Tulchans." A tulchan was the stuffed skin of a calf placed beside a cow to induce her to give milk. It was the humble function of the bishops of 1572 to draw revenues. In St Andrews, for example, Morton caused a Protestant preacher called John Douglas to be made nominal archbishop, but Morton himself appropriated the greater part of the revenue, very much as lay rectors do with the revenues of parishes in the English Church at the present time, keeping vicars to do spiritual duty.

In January 1572 a kind of Assembly was held at Leith, of which a committee conferred with a committee of the Council. It was agreed "that the names and titles of archbishops and bishops are not to be altered or innovate, nor yet the bounds of the dioceses confounded, but to stand and continue in time coming as they did before the reformation of religion," and many other rules were made to strengthen the hold of Episcopacy on Scotland. At the same it was clearly laid down that "all archbishops and bishops were to be subject to the Kirk and General Assembly" in spiritual things. In other words, bishops were to be retained for their dignities and revenues, but the *power* of the Church was to lie in the General Assembly.

Possibly Morton thought that keeping bishops in Scotland would help towards sympathy and union between Scotland and England. But such unreal bishops as were

set up in 1572 could only embitter the relations of the two lands and exasperate the thorough reformers. For the bishops were the creatures of the *secular* power, and the fervid Scottish Protestants, like all strong religionists, dreaded nothing so much as subjection to any power which was secular. Such subjection is called "Erastianism," and as we shall see, it was Erastianism, almost as much as "Popery" or Episcopacy, with which the Scottish Church was at war. Still, the resolutions at Leith were confirmed by an Assembly held at Perth in August, though it was protested that they were only to be received "as an interim until further and more perfect order be obtained."

John Knox, though he seems not to have greatly objected to bishops in themselves, was much grieved over the appointment of "Archbishop John Douglas" at St Andrews. He had retired thither from hostile Edinburgh, and he refused to conduct the service at Douglas' installation. His time on earth was nearly at an end, and he was anxious (as, indeed, he had reason to be) about much in the outlook for Scotland.

A truce or "abstinence," which lasted till the end of the year, was begun in August 1572. The Government forces occupied Edinburgh, and exiles, among them John Knox, returned to the city. In the end of August the news of the Massacre of St Bartholomew, that terrible incident of the French Wars of Religion, arrived in Britain, and both in England and in Scotland Protestant feeling became much stronger.

In October or November 1572 the Regent Mar died—for a wonder—a natural death; and in the latter month John Knox, the creator and early guide of that fervid Protestantism which Scotland learned from France and Geneva, closed his eyes on the struggles of his Church and country.

Regency of Morton (October 1572—March 1578). In circumstances more favourable for Protestantism and the

union with England than any which Scotland had known for a long time James Douglas, Earl of Morton, the strongest man in Scotland, was made regent after Mar's death. It was coming to be felt, both in England and in Scotland, that Mary's power was hardly more than a Roman Catholic conspiracy, no less dangerous to the throne of Elizabeth than to that of James. Huntly and Hamilton quickly owned Morton's authority; and in a short time Elizabeth made up her mind to send Drury with men and arms to support that "king's party" in Scotland which now—thanks chiefly to the Massacre of St Bartholomew—stood for the Scottish nation.

One thing was still to be done before there could be peace in Scotland—the castle of Edinburgh had to be taken. The truce ended on New Year's Day of 1573; and, by the help of the English force, the castle was brought to terms in March; Kirkcaldy of Grange was hanged, and Maitland of Lethington (such was the rumour) ended his strange life by his own hand. Knox had predicted that Grange would "hang against the sun."

And now, with the close of the miserable little civil war, a few years of peace and comparative prosperity came to Scotland. Through all her troubles three things were certain—(1) England, as England, would never again be her enemy; (2) France would never again be her protectress; (3) Mary Stewart would never again hold power within her borders. And we must call these three things good, because had any one of them failed it is impossible to see how Scotland could have won the strength, wealth, and peace which she now enjoys.

Morton was a man of bad life, but he was strong, and bent on having peace within his limits. As in Moray's time the borders gave trouble; and, like Moray, Morton was resolved to bring them under rule. He had a good pretext for firmness. In the summer of 1575 the two wardens (England and Scotland had each a warden to

look after the borders) met in the pass of the Redeswire, in the Cheviots near Carter Fell, to discuss matters. They had to talk of the case of an Englishman who had maltreated a Scot. They fell to words, and then their followers fell to blows, and there was a serious fight in the south country. The Scots won after some trouble, but the "Raid of the Redeswire" was an unfortunate incident for the unity of Scotland and England. However, it soon blew over, and Morton took his chance of improving and strengthening border rule. He made every border man swear to obey the law on pain of banishment, and he made a permanent force to be kept on the borders. It was good statesmanship, for which Scotland ought to be grateful to her last regent.

She has less cause to thank the rough worldly man for his dealings with her Church. The Scottish ministers, we know, hated the "Tulchan" bishops which Morton had set up, and we know why they hated them. It was because they were subject to the "temporal" power. They had taken care, we remember, to secure the subjection of the bishops to the General Assemblies in spiritual matters. The fact is that the Protestant Church in Scotland—that is to say, the ministers and lay elders who came together in the General Assemblies—was every year growing into a greater power in the country than any power which the State could put forth. The Church was possessed by the idea that Jesus Christ was her King, and that in all moral and spiritual matters she was answerable for her decisions (*i.e.* the decisions of her General Assemblies) to God alone. Hence the importance of making the General Assembly superior to the bishop. Hence, too, we find the ministers more and more claiming the right to interfere with the behaviour of all men in the land, from the highest to the lowest, and calling even archbishops before their stern tribunals.

After Knox's death the Church found an equally ardent

and even more uncompromising leader in Andrew Melville. The son of a laird near Montrose, he was born in 1545, and carefully trained both in classical and theological learning at St Andrews, Paris, and Poitiers. He then went to Geneva, and steeped himself, as Knox had done, in the Calvinism of that place, represented, now that Calvin was gone, by Theodore Beza. In 1574 he returned to Scotland, becoming Principal of Glasgow University, and henceforward the shaping of Scottish Protestantism was mainly his work. We shall have much to do with Melville and his ideas in the years now to come. It was under his influence that in 1575 a General Assembly raised the question as to whether or not Episcopacy was a divine ordinance. The question was not immediately answered, but it would never again be allowed to sleep in Scotland.

The Church was grievously disappointed in the regent, and in other directions his power gave way. Some of the great lords — those troublers at all times of Scotland's peace—turned against him. The Earl of Argyll, the great potentate in the west country, was enraged because Morton made his wife give up Crown jewels which had been left to her by her first husband, the Regent Moray. Again, Morton offended both Argyll and Atholl by interfering in a great dispute between them about a cattle-stealing raid by one of Argyll's dependants. He revoked grants of Crown lands which had been given illegally to individuals who resented the disturbance. Above all, he made enemies of the guardians of King James—Alexander Erskine (brother of the Regent Mar) and George Buchanan the scholar, who was James' tutor. By those men the king was kept at Stirling Castle. Morton tried to persuade the boy (who was now nearly thirteen) to escape from his guardian and to take up the reins of government himself in the castle of Edinbnrgh. This was in September 1577. If Morton was plotting, the nobles, with Argyll at their head, soon counterplotted to purpose.

They held a great meeting at Stirling in March 1578, at which it was arranged that James, who had called the meeting, should henceforward rule for himself. Morton at once resigned the regency, and James VI.'s personal government began. With a father murdered, a mother dethroned and imprisoned—herself perhaps the murderess of his father—no king could have had a more unhappy beginning of life than James. Yet during the childish years at Stirling he was well looked after. His chief guardian, Erskine, was "loved and honoured by all men for his good qualities and great discretion." George Buchanan (1506-1582), his tutor, was a great scholar, whose early life had been spent in France, and who, soon after his final return to Scotland, had been tutor to Queen Mary. James feared rather than loved Buchanan; but Buchanan made the boy much of a scholar for life. He was said to be "the sweetest sight in Europe for strange and extraordinary gifts of judgment, memory, and languages." His training for his proper work of statesmanship was, as we shall soon see, of a different and less admirable kind.

A boy of thirteen can be only a nominal king. A fairly strong council was appointed, but the feudal lords kept to their own selfish and violent ways. Morton soon had his revenge. The young Earl of Mar suddenly brought himself forward as the true guardian of Stirling Castle and its royal inmate. He turned out Alexander Erskine, his uncle, and in May 1578 he was joined at Stirling by Morton, who soon recovered the power he had been forced to give up a month or two before.

Morton's power was now, however, that of a party, not that of a united nation. There was a strong party opposed to him, at the head of which was the Earl of Atholl, the chancellor, who looked upon and spoke of Morton as the king's gaoler. The two parties were only just saved from fighting by the help of the Presbyterian ministers

and the English ambassador, Robert Bowes. It was then settled that a kind of committee should be appointed by the king with the advice of Queen Elizabeth. In choosing this committee, which was to perfect the peace at leisure, an effort was made to represent both the factions. But so divided and unquiet was the nation that the plan was never properly carried into effect.

In September 1579 a very questionable actor appeared upon the stage. Esmé Stewart, Lord of Aubigny, in Berri, was first cousin of Darnley, and therefore first cousin, once removed, of the king. He was a great man at the corrupt court of France in those days, a strong Roman Catholic, and a great believer in the unchecked or absolute government of kings. James invited him to come to Scotland, and he came with a large following, and made a great and baneful show. Most unhappily for king and country he settled down. James made him first Earl (as his uncle had been), and then Duke, of Lennox, and in a very short time he had more power than Morton or anybody else. We must now consider of what that power consisted and to what it led.

Obviously, whatever else it was, Lennox's mission was a proof of French influence in Scottish affairs, and it now seems certain that it was part of a plot by the Guises to destroy Protestantism in Scotland.

Anyhow, the power of the showy Frenchman was soon plain to everybody. He was made governor of that great stronghold, Dumbarton Castle, and head of a kind of bodyguard of the king, with the title of High Chamberlain and First Gentleman of the Chamber. All his life James was much under the influence of favourites, and he was still too young to rule for himself, so Lennox had a great opportunity. Once more the question seemed to be raised: Would Scotland return to French and Roman Catholic sympathies, or would she remain faithful to that sympathy with England and the reformed faith which had first

clearly shown itself in the treaty of Edinburgh in 1559? But the immediate question was: How long was Lennox to be able, or to be allowed, to hold power?

He was strongly opposed from two quarters—(1) by Queen Elizabeth; (2) by the Scottish Church.

(1) Elizabeth and her council were fully alive to the dangers of Lennox's ascendency, and did what they could to overcome it. The English ambassador, Bowes, made a considerable stir, but to little purpose. Elizabeth's strongest ally in Scotland was the Earl of Morton, and Lennox was too strong for him. A new enemy to Morton, to England, and, we must add, to Scotland, appeared at this time in the person of a Captain Stewart, a son of Lord Ochiltree in Ayrshire, and, oddly enough, brother-in-law of John Knox, who had married his sister. Stewart was made Earl of Arran by James in April 1581, and thus put in the shoes of the Hamiltons. He was an able soldier, and he added his talent to the talents of Lennox for the destruction of Morton.

Captain Stewart one day in the Scottish Privy Council accused Morton to his face of having had a share in Darnley's murder. This was on 31st December 1580. Morton was accordingly taken prisoner with a view to being tried. Elizabeth proceeded to use threatening language, and men took up arms both in Scotland and England in defence of the former regent. But those who were for Lennox and the king armed on their side, and they showed that they had the stronger power by trying and executing Morton. He was beheaded in the Edinburgh market-place, 2nd June 1581, having protested that, though he knew of the plot against Darnley, he had no part in it.

Queen Elizabeth's opposition to Lennox thus came to nothing. What would the Church be able to do?

(2) If Lennox and Arran were bent on bringing back Scotland to the allegiance of Rome, the learned and unbending Andrew Melville was equally bent on strengthen-

ing her allegiance to Geneva and Calvinism, and on ruling the Scottish people by a law higher and more irresistible than that of any earthly monarch. In Melville's eyes the most important institution in Scotland was neither king nor council but the General Assembly of the Church, to which even Morton's "Tulchan" bishops were subject. The General Assembly, consisting of laymen as well as ministers, and often in those days having a majority of laymen, was a very real representation of the Scottish people, and none could afford to despise its words or its deeds.

Melville hated the presence of the bishops in the Scottish Church. In 1580 the General Assembly condemned Episcopacy in principle and ordered the existing bishops to lay down their offices on pain of excommunication. In the following year (1581) two steps were taken by a General Assembly at Glasgow which were important in the slow advance of Presbyterianism. The groups of ministers and elders known as *Presbyteries*, with extensive power of discipline, were first definitely organised and recognised, and a complete system of Presbyterian Church government, known as the Second Book of Discipline, was adopted as the rule of the Scottish Church.

The Second Book of Discipline did little more than adopt and bring into Scotland the constitution of the Huguenot, or French Reformed, Church. But it was much more thorough and uncompromising than that First Book of Discipline which represents the views of John Knox. It finally and absolutely declared against bishops—the name and the thing; and it proclaimed the independence of the Church in all spiritual affairs, the Church being a kingdom within a kingdom (*imperium in imperio*). As we have already seen, Melville and the ministers were really aiming at more than the mere independence of the Church. They were aiming at its *supremacy* on the ground

that the Church represented God and that man must obey God. Its supremacy, as we shall see, King James would never bring himself to acknowledge.

The king and his ministers were persuaded to subscribe a declaration, called sometimes the "Second Confession of Faith," sometimes the "King's Confession," sometimes the "Negative Confession," and sometimes the "First Covenant." It was a strong declaration against Roman Catholic doctrines and practices, but said nothing about bishops. Further than this the Government would not go. The Parliament refused to confirm the Second Book of Discipline, and the Assembly could only circulate it by its own authority among the Presbyteries of the Church.

Lennox signed the First Covenant, but he went steadily on with the attempt to Romanise Scotland. By the summer of 1582 it was fully realised that Jesuit intrigues of the most dangerous kind were being carried on. Though the Presbyterian Church had not yet conquered the State it had power enough to counterwork the king and the magnates, whom Lennox and Arran had nearly subdued.

Nearly, but not quite. There were always quarrels among the magnates which might be turned to account in the cause of patriotism. By August 1582 a storm had arisen, formidable enough to overturn even Lennox. With the full support of the Church a group of magnates, headed by the Earl of Gowrie, had made up their minds to take possession of the king. He was hunting north of the Tay, when the patriotic conspirators got him into the castle of Ruthven, or Huntingtower, on the Almond, a mile or two from Perth, and refused to let him out again, though he pleaded for his liberty with unmanly tears. Such was the "Raid of Ruthven." The chief magnates concerned in it were Gowrie himself (lord of Ruthven), Mar, and Lindsay. They maintained that the deed was necessary for the wel-

fare of the land, and they were supported by the Church and by the towns.

So far as Lennox was concerned their victory was complete. He went to Dumbarton Castle and tried both to fight and to plot, but to no purpose. In May 1583 he died of a sudden sickness in Paris.

But, though it was well to be rid of Lennox, Arran and other mischief makers remained, and it was soon shown that Scotland was too much at variance within itself for any firm national policy to be pursued. The Crown and the Church were in opposition; French intrigues were still a danger; Mary Stewart still lived to tempt, to perplex, and to threaten. Elizabeth looked favourably on the Gowrie administration, and sent two able ambassadors, Bowes and Davison, to improve the relations of the two countries. But she was counterworked by France, from whence, early in 1583, came two men, De la Mothe Fénélon and De Mainville, with offers of French pay to James. The king had an idea that an association might be made between himself and his mother for a joint reign in Scotland, and with this idea he played for a long time, to the well-grounded alarm of both Elizabeth and the Church. For they knew only too well that the idea came from the Guises and that it would not be realised until Elizabeth was put out of the way and Mary and her son ruled over the whole of a Roman Catholic Britain, in dependence upon France.

In June 1583 James escaped from the Gowrie administration, which had ruled since the Ruthven Raid. For two years and a half the dominant influence in Scotland was that of Arran, and it was an influence bad for what was best for the country—namely, Protestantism and cordial relations with England. Elizabeth hated the change of government, and sent her able diplomatist Walsingham to watch and report. It seemed doubtful whether James were a Protestant or a Roman Catholic at heart. In

February 1584 he wrote to the Pope asking for assistance, and professing something which looked like allegiance. The Gowrie party, with a strong public opinion behind it tried another revolution; but it failed, and Gowrie was tried, and executed as a conspirator in May 1584.

It was a bad time for Melville and the Church. The ministers had to be punished for their sympathy with the Ruthven Raid, and Melville was brought before the Privy Council on a charge of having in the pulpit compared Queen Mary to Nebuchadnezzar. He repudiated the words, as they had been understood, but he did not try to conceal that he did not consider himself subject in such a "spiritual" matter to a civil court. He threw a Hebrew Bible on the council table, and said that was his warrant.

Melville avoided imprisonment, and joined Mar, Angus, and other banished Ruthven Raiders at Newcastle, where they kept the flame of Calvinistic Presbyterianism brightly burning. In Scotland, meanwhile, Arran ruled cruelly and disastrously. Spottiswoode, the Episcopalian historian of the Church, tells us that "all familiar society and intercourse of humanity was in a manner lost, no man knowing to whom he might safely speak and open his mind."

Episcopacy was re-established in this same year, 1584—that is to say, the Parliament met in May and passed a series of Acts which Presbyterians called the "Black Acts." The chief points of these were that—(1) the Church was subject to the Crown; (2) that no General Assembly should meet without the king's permission (Assemblies meeting independently were condemned as "unauthorised innovations"); (3) the rule of bishops, appointed by the Crown, should be restored. Such bishops were very different from the "Tulchans" of 1572; very different, but no more welcome to the followers of Knox and Melville. For the moment, however, they had to be endured.

At this time the relations between Scotland and England were confused and wavering and unsatisfactory, though, on the whole, the tendency was towards a tightening of the bonds. Arran was a Protestant, and desired friendliness between the two lands. There were many negotiations in 1584 and 1585. Of these the principal agent on the part of the Scots was a young man, the eldest son of Baron Gray, known (after the Scottish style in such cases) as the Master of Gray. He was very handsome, and on that account pleasing to James, who loved to have good-looking favourites; but he was much of an adventurer, and had dangerous French experiences and sympathies. Though sent out by Arran he really wished to upset him, and he pleaded with Elizabeth to restore the "banished lords" who had made the Ruthven Raid. On the English side the principal agent was Edward Wotton, who also worked for the banished lords and against Arran. It was a time of great danger to Protestantism all over Europe; for the movement known as the Counter-Reformation, led by Philip II. of Spain, was in full progress; and Elizabeth lived in most reasonable fear of an attempt to destroy the reformed religion by armed force. Wotton succeeded in persuading James to join Elizabeth in a defensive league to balance the leagues of Roman Catholics abroad, though he did not do so until April 1586. It was finally settled in July of that year.

Although Arran was favourable to England English influence was fatal to his power. Elizabeth was bent on restoring the banished lords, and their restoration meant the downfall of Arran. Elizabeth fastened the blame of a border outrage on Arran, and got James to imprison him. By October 1585 the banished lords had crossed the border, and in November Arran gave up the game. The rest of his life he passed in retirement.

Once more, in 1587, the sympathy of England and Scotland was put in great danger by the last act of Mary

Stewart's luckless life. In 1586 occurred Babington's plot for the taking off of Elizabeth: Mary was suspected of a share in it, and was put on trial accordingly. She was found guilty, and beheaded at Fotheringay Castle, in Northamptonshire, on 8th February 1587. She was King James' mother: how could he be friends with the queen and the state who had taken her life?

It is not to James' credit in any way that he contented himself with a feeble protest against the deed. Yet we cannot fail to see that Mary had long ceased to have any influence for good (if she ever had any) on Scottish affairs, and that her death was, in the stern estimate of history, the removal of a threatening cloud from the whole of Britain. If James felt this in the depths of his mean heart and understanding, and did not commit his country to a war with England, stern history must give thanks.

The government of Scotland, in the hands of Mar, Angus, and others of the banished lords, was now peaceful and fairly satisfactory. In May 1587 James feasted all his magnates at Holyrood, in token that there was to be no more strife among them, and the next day they marched to the castle, releasing prisoners and cutting down bodies from gibbets as a sign of universal peace.

The next year, 1588, saw the attempted invasion of England by the Spanish Armada and its utter defeat. The Protestant feeling in both countries was made much warmer, and that made for unity between them. In the same year James attained the age of twenty-one, and he began to think seriously of matrimony. At last he decided to wed Anne, one of the two daughters of Frederick II., the king of Denmark. The alliance was unsatisfactory to Elizabeth, and it did not provide James with a very good wife. They were first married by proxy in August 1589, and then James joined his bride in Norway, and spent the winter with her there and at Copenhagen, bringing her to Scotland in May 1590.

Although the Armada had been scattered to the winds the Roman Catholic magnates still held to the hope of restoring the Roman Catholic religion to Scotland with foreign help. For a plot of this kind Huntly and two others were tried and put in prison in the summer of 1589. But, on the whole, the government was firmly Protestant under the rule of the chancellor, John Maitland of Thirlestane, brother of the famous Lethington who was made Lord Thirlestane at Queen Anne's coronation. A troubler of the nation's peace was abroad in those years in the shape of a certain Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, nephew (curiously enough by the mother's side) of the husband of Queen Mary. This man behaved like a madcap, breaking into prisons, pretending to traffic with witches, and the like. And there were other evidences of serious misrule and anarchy. The Earl of Moray (son-in-law of the good regent) was foully slain near Aberdour in February 1592 by Huntly—James apparently conniving at the deed. These were not good years for Scotland. "Many enormities," David Calderwood tells us, "were committed, as if there had been no king in Israel, so contemptible was the king's authority."

In 1592 occurred one of the most important moments in the curiously fluctuating story of the building up of Presbyterianism in Scotland. We remember the "Black Acts" of 1584, the new bishops with real powers, and the assertion of the Crown's superiority to the General Assemblies of the Church. The rise in the temperature of Protestantism caused by the affair of the Armada had been strongly felt in Scotland, and Melville and the Presbyterians were in a position to make a good bargain with the king. A Parliament met in May, and what it did was decisive enough. The Act of 1584 was repealed, and the Presbyterian Church system, or polity—said to have been "agreed upon by His Majesty in conference had by His Highness with certain of the ministry convened to that

effect"—was set up as the national religion of Scotland. That polity, derived from Geneva and France and set forth in the Second Book of Discipline, must be clearly understood by all students of Scottish history. It consisted of an ascending series of four groups, or courts, for government, jurisdiction, and discipline.

(1) At the base was (and is) the *kirk session*, the court of the single parish or congregation, consisting of the minister and a certain number of laymen called *elders*. The elders were appointed by the congregation, and were meant to help the minister both in his temporal and spiritual duties.

(2) Next to the kirk session came the *Presbytery*, or *classis*, from which the polity got its name of Presbyterianism. The Presbytery was a larger or smaller group of the ministers of locally contiguous parishes or congregations, who met periodically in a fixed place, and were accompanied by elders from these kirk sessions.

(3) Next came the *Synod*, which consisted of a group of Presbyteries, brought together just as the Presbyteries were made out of the kirk sessions.

(4) Last, highest, and most important, came the General Assembly of the whole Church. We have seen already how this institution was founded earlier than any other part of the Presbyterian system; how it often contained more laymen than ministers; how the magnates had seats in it without any kind of election; how, in short, it was more of a national Parliament than the meetings of the Estates. As time went on it came somewhat to lose that character, and became simply the highest group of Church courts, to which ministers and elders were elected in rotation.

Now each of these courts—the kirk session, the Presbytery, the Synod and the General Assembly—had discipline over those below it, the discipline of the kirk session being, of course, over the members of the congregation. According to the ideas of Knox and Melville this discipline

was a very real and severe thing, for it was part of the divine rule, the rule of Christ though His Church.

Such was the Church set up—"established," more definitely than in 1567—by Act of Parliament in 1592. The Act laid heavy stress on discipline. The Presbyteries were to see that "the Kirk be keepit in good order; to inquire diligently of naughty and ungodly persons, and to travail to bring them in the way again by admonition or threatening of God's judgments, or by correction." A manifest link between Church and State was the presence of the king, or a commissioner appointed by him, in the General Assembly. The credit of this great Act belongs to the statesmanship of Maitland, Lord Thirlestane.

Behind the Act there was much zeal and satisfaction. David Calderwood wrote: "The Kirk of Scotland was now come to her perfection, and the greatest purity that ever she attained unto both in doctrine and discipline, so that her beauty was admirable to foreign Kirks. The assemblies of the saints were never so glorious nor profitable to every one of the true members thereof." It was to be a brief glory.

A curious and dangerous Catholic intrigue—the last of the many in Scotland—gave trouble in 1593-4. One day there were found in the possession of a certain George Ker various letters and eight blank pieces of paper signed by the Earl of Huntly and some other magnates. Over the signatures there was to be written an invitation to Philip of Spain to invade Scotland on behalf of the Roman Catholic cause there, where he would find plenty of help on landing. This in itself was bad enough; and, unfortunately, there is good reason for being sure that James himself, just a year after he had made Presbyterian Protestantism the State religion of his country, was a party to a plot which would have made an end of Protestantism in Scotland. This plot is known as the affair of the "Spanish Blanks," from the pieces of paper of which we have spoken.

Public opinion was too firm and well formed for Scotland to be sacrificed to the treachery of her foolish king, and he was forced to take action against the men of the Spanish Blanks, though, indeed, they were never brought to trial. In 1594 a Spanish ship, with money from the Pope to the king, arrived at Aberdeen, and, though it was at once seized by the inhabitants, Huntly raised his great district on the side of Spain and the Pope. Open rebellion forced the king's hand, and in October 1594 Argyll and James between them brought this last north-eastern revolt to an end. A Catholic rising in the south under one of the Maxwells having been ended by the execution of Maxwell, Protestantism in Scotland may be considered to have triumphed.

Thirlestane—no bad minister—died in 1595, a victim chiefly of Queen Anne's dislike. In 1596 James entrusted the affairs of state to eight commissioners of the Exchequer, known as the "Octavians." They held office for a year, and put the national finances in order. In the same year there occurred a border incident of the old type, when the English seized a ruffian, Armstrong of Kinmont—the "Willie o' Kinmont" of an old ballad—and he was rescued by Scott of Buccleuch. Elizabeth was made angry, but that was all.

With a king capable of intriguing with Spanish Roman Catholics, the newly-established Presbyterian Church could hardly feel very comfortable or safe. The Catholic earls who had been defeated by Argyll and the king had fled to the Continent, but they were back in 1596. The Church wanted their great estates to be confiscated and themselves treated as the worst kind of rebels. The king, on the other hand, with the bulk of the nobles, was content with the assertion of royal authority which had been already made, and desired the restoration of the lords on condition of their becoming Protestant. In 1596 Melville came to a convention at Falkland, in Fife,

held to consider the case of the Popish lords, "in the name," as he said, "of Christ Jesus the King and His Church." An assembly held afterwards at Cupar sent a deputation to the king, of whom Andrew Melville was one. The king called in question the right of the Church to hold an assembly without warrant from the Crown. Then Mr Andrew broke out upon the king in so zealous, powerful, and irresistible a manner that howbeit the king used his authority in most crabbed and choleric manner, yet Mr Andrew bore him down, and uttered the commission as from the mighty God, calling the king but "God's silly [feeble] vassal"; and, taking him by the sleeve, says: "There are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland. There is Christ Jesus the King, and His Kingdom the Kirk, whose subject King James the Sixth is. And they whom Christ has called and commanded to watch over His Kirk and govern His spiritual kingdom have sufficient power of Him and authority so to do, the which no Christian king nor prince should control and discharge but fortify and assist." Such was the spirit of early Presbyterianism in Scotland.

The Church set up a permanent committee to attend the king, and their power became very galling to him.

The immediate difficulty about the Popish lords was got over by their professing Protestantism, but the stern war between Church and State went on. James was bent on keeping his superiority over the decisions of the General Assembly. By his authority an assembly met at Perth in February 1597. It was quiet in temper, and did not dispute the authority of the Crown. More than that, it gave the king permission to propose a change in the government of the Church at a future time.

That time came at a meeting of the Estates in the end of 1597. The clerical commissioners asked that the Church might somehow be represented in future Parliaments, so that the antagonism between Church and State

to which Presbyterianism had tended hitherto might be prevented. The Estates agreed that "such ministers as at any time His Majesty should provide to the office, place, title, and dignity of a bishop, abbot, or other prelate, should have vote in Parliament, such like and as freely as any other ecclesiastical prelate had any time bygone."

In the following year, 1596, the king met a General Assembly at Dundee in May, and made a long speech to the ministers, as a result of which the assembly decided that fifty-one representatives of the Church should vote in Parliament. They were to be chosen partly by the Crown and partly by the Church. It was afterwards provided that all the representatives should be answerable to the General Assembly, and should propose nothing in Parliament for which they had not the warrant of the Church.

So far there were no actual bishops, and so far it seemed as if Church and State, king and ministers, were amiably trying to accommodate each other. But the king was really bent on putting bishops of his own appointment over the clergy, for he was sure that he could not be a real king if the ministers were allowed to have all the power they wished for.

In 1600 further steps were taken. A General Assembly at Montrose decided that the representatives were to be chosen *by the king* from lists submitted to him by the Church. They were to hold office *for a year only*, and were to be entirely responsible to the General Assembly. Further than this the Church did not and would not go, but a final stroke for power was made by James and the magnates. In October 1600 the king actually (using the power put into his hands in 1597) appointed three bishops—of Ross, Aberdeen, and Caithness—who were to sit in Parliament with the remainder of the old bishops, but were to have no ecclesiastical power. It almost seemed as if

Presbyterianism had received a deathblow. Whether it had or not the next chapter will show.

James would not have found it so easy to restore Episcopacy, as bit by bit he was doing, if he had not had the magnates, almost without exception, on his side. It was the "Lords of the Congregation" who had helped Knox's Protestantism; it was the hostility of the lords which was weakening Andrew Melville's Presbyterianism; it would be the help of the lords which would ensure the future triumph of the Scottish Kirk.

Elizabeth had now only three years to live. James was governing Scotland fairly successfully, and he was sure that he would one day be king of England as well as of Scotland. In 1599 he did a good deal towards civilising the wild "Highlands and Islands," which, we remember, were so long a thorn in the side of the Scottish nation.

In 1600 a strange thing happened in the town of Perth, where James I. was murdered, and near which had occurred the Ruthven Raid. The son of the author of that Raid was Earl of Gowrie in 1600, a handsome and learned young man of twenty-two. We are told by King James himself that one August evening in that year Gowrie's brother, the Master of Ruthven, asked the king to come with him from Falkland to Perth to examine a supposed criminal whom he had imprisoned there the night before. James went, and when he reached Gowrie's house in Perth he found himself a prisoner and Ruthven holding a dagger to his breast. Ruthven had very nearly gained his end when he was slain by Sir John Ramsay. Ruthven's death was followed by that of Gowrie, and in December the Ruthven name was cancelled by Act of Parliament.

CHAPTER XI

THE UNION OF THE CROWNS, AND THE STRUGGLE WITH THE BISHOPS. 1603-1690

AT three o'clock on the morning of Thursday, 24th March 1603, Queen Elizabeth ceased to live; and late at night of the following Saturday a messenger, who had ridden post-haste from London, arrived at Holyrood, and announced to the king of Scotland, that he was king of England, Ireland, and France as well. James, we know, had been eager for this to happen, and for some years it had been increasingly certain that it would happen. James was undoubtedly the nearest heir by blood, and the only difficulty was that (Scotland and England being separate nations) he was a foreigner, who could not legally own any land outside Scotland. But that difficulty was gradually got over. For the fact was, as we shall very soon see, that the most intelligent people in both lands were realising that it was absurd for them to be regarded as foreigners to each other. And so James Stewart stepped at once into the inheritance of the Tudors.

It was a great moment in the gradual approximation of Scotland and England when they had one and the same king. For not only did it mean that the old hostility between the countries was at an end, not only was it a pledge that they would one day, if not immediately, be entirely united, but it brought great and immediate changes, some for good, some for evil, to both lands. When King James moved from Edinburgh to Whitehall Scotland lost the dignity and brilliancy of a court, but, to make up for that, she gained a large outlet southwards for her ambitious

and energetic sons. England was in all respects richer and more civilised than Scotland; and, obstinate and peculiar as James was, he could not be king of England without being something very different, more modern, more intelligent, more peace-loving, than any former king of the Scots had been. Once more, James was now introduced to the Anglican Church as it had been set up under Elizabeth, and he thus had a clear and definite ecclesiastical ideal to work for in Scotland.

In this chapter we shall see how the full blessings of union with England were delayed to Scotland by her struggle to maintain Presbyterianism against the will of her kings, and how by that struggle she was braced and strengthened, so that when the union came she was able to give spirit and vigour to the great nation which she joined.

We may divide the struggle and the chapter into four parts. I. 1603-1638: from the union of the Crowns to the overthrow of Episcopacy. II. 1638-1649: from the overthrow of Episcopacy to the death of Charles I. III. 1649-1660: from the death of Charles I. to the Restoration. IV. 1660-1690: from the Restoration to the Revolution.

I. King James arrived at Whitehall on 7th May 1603, and he returned to Scotland only once before his death. He left his native land to be governed by a Privy Council, the creature of his own will, and by the strange, imperfect Parliament of Three Estates.

James at least knew how desirable it was for a complete union to take place between the two lands which he ruled. He was fond of theories and arguments, and when he got to England he found in the great lawyer Francis Bacon a mind immeasurably greater than his own, and equally fond of peace. James' first English Parliament met in March 1604, and he announced in it that he was the husband and all the whole isle was his lawful wife,

and that his aim was to leave behind him "one worship of God, one kingdom entirely governed, one uniformity of law." Soon after commissioners were appointed by the two Houses of the English Parliament on the one side, and by the Scottish Estates on the other, to draw up Articles of Union for the consideration of the Parliaments. In December 1604 the Articles were ready, but the English Parliament did not begin to discuss them until November 1606. The commissioners' proposals fell far short of the king's ideal. They were four in number—viz. (1) repeal of what were known as the Border Laws—*i.e.* various defensive measures adopted by both countries on the assumption of their habitual hostility; (2) mutual extradition of criminals *i.e.*—that the one country was not to protect those who might flee from the justice of the other; (3) freedom of trade—*i.e.* that the two lands should buy and sell each other's produce, except sheep, cattle, and a few other things, without any hindrance on the part of their Governments; (4) mutual naturalisation—*i.e.* that citizens of one country should necessarily be citizens of the other. These proposals said nothing of any union of the Parliaments. Partial as they were, however, they were languidly received in both countries, and led to much debate. The Border Laws were repealed in 1607. As regards extradition, it was decided that every prisoner should be tried in his own country.

The questions of *freedom of trade* and *citizenship* were much debated. The English merchants rejected the idea of free trade with horror. They fancied that hordes of needy Scots would pour in to buy and sell and stream out again before the tax-gatherers came round. It was in vain that James and his minister Cecil pleaded for freedom. The House of Commons would have none of it, and the proposal fell to the ground.

The question of citizenship also failed of a *legislative* solution, though it received a partial *judicial* one. (For

a judge can *make* a law even though he professes only to interpret and apply laws already made.) The lawyers said that by Common Law *post-nati—i.e.* Scotsmen born in Scotland after James' accession in England—had citizenship in both countries, while *ante-nati—i.e.* those born before his English accession—were citizens of Scotland only. Parliament, on the other hand, wished to make both classes equal by statute. No statute, however, was passed. Then a fictitious case was raised in the law courts to give the judges an opportunity of speaking out. Was a Scotsman born after 1603 an English citizen or not? If not, he could not hold land in England. In 1607 a piece of English land was bought for a Scottish child of three years old called Colville (or Calvin as the English law books have it). An action was then brought in his name against two persons who were supposed to have wrongfully deprived him of the land. The case was learnedly argued on both sides, and finally given in favour of Colville by ten out of twelve judges in the Court of Exchequer.

Thus the question of citizenship was settled for ever as James and Bacon wished it to be. The rest of the proposals for union all came to nothing, chiefly because of the difficulty about free trade, and we hear no more of them for nearly half-a-century.

And now we must return to the bishops, for the chief thing in Scottish history at this time was the restoration of Episcopacy and the resistance to it.

At the union of the Crowns, we remember, the state of the Scottish Church was this: Presbyterianism was still the established religion of Scotland under the Act of 1592, but a small number of bishops had been appointed to do civil duties in Parliament. Their appointment was *by the king alone*; neither the Scottish Parliament nor the Scottish Church had authorised it. We have now to see how the authority of those two bodies was given.

The king's love of bishops was not likely to be lessened by his move to Whitehall. In 1604 he told a conference of English clergy, assembled at Hampton Court, that a Scottish Presbytery agreed as well with a monarchy as God with the devil. It meant, he said, that Jack and Tom and Will and Dick should meet and at their pleasure censure the king and his council.

There was much contention as to whether the General Assembly of the Church could meet without the king's authority. Under the Act of 1592 it was lawful for the Church to hold a General Assembly once a year at least; but, on the other hand, it was provided that the king himself or his commissioners should be present to fix time and place for the next meeting. This provision, the Church held, did not do away with the right of independent annual assembly.

The king soon showed that he took another view of the matter. A General Assembly was to meet at Aberdeen in July 1604, and James postponed it for a year. In the spring of 1605 he declared that, of his own motion, he would never again call an Assembly during his life.

The ministers, as obstinate on their side as the king on his, resolved to assemble in spite of the prohibition, and a band of them met at Aberdeen in July 1605. Ordered to dissolve by the Privy Council, they did so in the hope that the Government would name another day for their meeting. This the Government would not do, and they proposed to meet again in September. But meanwhile many were imprisoned for the offence of the July meeting; and fourteen were called before the council in October. There they "declined" the jurisdiction of a civil court, and appealed to their own Assembly. This "declinature" was regarded by James as treason, and the ministers were tried for treason at Linlithgow in January 1606. They were found guilty, six of them were

banished, and eight sent off to prison in remote parts of the country.

The condemnation of these ministers was a staggering blow to the Scottish Church. Now that the first flush of Reformation enthusiasm had faded and the dread of invasion, whether French or Spanish, had passed away, Scottish Presbyterianism had lost something of its fighting spirit, and James had his opportunity.

He pressed on the matter of the bishops step by step. A Parliament at Perth in 1606 passed an Act by which Church property which had been given to the Crown was given back to the Church for the support of bishops. He invited Andrew Melville, with seven other ministers, to confer with him in London in the end of August. The ministers were handsomely entertained and exposed to the seduction of Anglican services, while in the intervals the king discussed with them the lawfulness of the Aberdeen Assembly. But Melville was not a man to be seduced. He quarrelled with Bancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, shaking one of his lawn sleeves, told him it was a Romish rag and bore the mark of the beast. It was Melville's last free act. He was soon after imprisoned for four years, after which he was banished for the rest of his life. This was another knock-down blow for Presbyterianism.

The king's next step was to call a convention of ministers at Linlithgow in the end of this memorable year 1606. He told them that his design was to strengthen the Church to resist Popery, and that, therefore, there must be a constitutional change. Each Presbytery and Synod was in the habit of choosing a president (called after French Huguenot practice a "Moderator") at each meeting. James propounded to the Linlithgow Convention that *permanent* or "Constant" Moderators in Presbyteries would strengthen the Church. The Convention reluctantly accepted the proposal; and Constant

Moderators—many of them bishops—were appointed. In the following year, to the growing consternation of the ministers, James insisted on Constant Moderatorships of Synods, and in July 1607 ordered the Synods to elect Moderators from the Moderators of the Presbyteries. Where the Synod contained a bishop he was to be the Constant Moderator. Thus was the hold of bishops strengthened, directly and indirectly.

And now only three things were wanting to the new Episcopacy—(1) confirmation by a proper General Assembly; (2) confirmation by Parliament (*i.e.* "establishment" as we now call it); (3) proper consecration of the bishops. These three things were now to follow.

The confirming Assembly met at Glasgow in June 1610. Its record shows how broken was the spirit of Scottish Presbyterianism. It gave up the point of the lawfulness of the Aberdeen Assembly; admitted that no Assembly ought to meet without the king's summons; and, finally, fully recognised the order of bishops, admitting them as Constant Moderators of the Synods, with powers of excommunication and absolution and other powers of almost equal importance.

In a Parliament at Edinburgh in October 1612 the Estates fully confirmed the proceedings of the General Assembly of 1610, making certain changes which added to the power of the bishops. For instance, whereas the Assembly had made the bishops answerable to them for their lives and behaviour, the Parliament did not confirm that small check.

The Archbishop of Glasgow and two bishops went to London to receive due consecration, and so take their rank in the valid Apostolical Succession.

The Scottish people fully realised that this new Scottish Episcopacy was an instrument of the despotic power of the king. The harsh and prying power which the Presbyterian ministers had exercised was now in royal hands.

Early in 1610 James set up in each of the two archiepiscopal provinces of St Andrews and Glasgow a Court of High Commission, which interfered with men's lives as the Presbyteries and kirk sessions had done. "This commission, and execution thereof, as it exalted the aspiring bishops far above *anie prelat* there ever was in Scotland, so it put the king in possession of that which he had long time hunted for—to wit, the royal prerogative. So our bishops were fit instruments to overthrow the liberties both of the Kirk and country."

"Fit instruments to overthrow the liberties both of the Kirk and country." No words could express better than those the Scottish feeling about bishops for a hundred years to come.

When we look closely at this restoration of Episcopacy in Scotland one or two things strike us.

(1) The Scottish Church, by law established after 1612, was, as the Scottish Protestant Church had been in 1572, in 1584, and in 1600, a compromise between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism; only, as it had, after 1612, a regular body of properly consecrated bishops, it was much less a compromise, and more thoroughly Episcopal than it had been at any of those times. (2) We feel that the impulse which had planted Presbyterianism in Scotland, and the strength of conviction which had led to its establishment in 1592—the spirit of Knox and Melville—had for the moment passed away from the land, and that new impulses, new attractions and repulsions were needed to make Scotland a strong and separate force in Britain. (3) It was the alliance between James and the Scottish magnates and their common dislike of the practical power of Presbyterianism which enabled the king to restore Episcopacy so successfully. (4) We feel that James' Scottish policy after his English accession had the strength and the weakness of an attempt to unite two kingdoms by the free exercise of his will.

He failed, because his will was self-will, and because Scotland was not yet sufficiently educated to have a national will which could correct and supersede the king's.

We are now to see how this victory of the Crown proved but temporary; how the power of the Church revived in Scotland; and how it was through Presbyterianism and not through Episcopacy that it found an outlet; how the magnates fell away from the Crown and entered into an alliance with the middle class and the people; and how at last the power of the State showed itself, not as the power of a self-willed king, but as the power of a stubbornly independent and strongly religious people. All this is to come, but many things have to happen first. During what remains of James I.'s reign we shall see the king continuing to enjoy the fruits of his victory in Scotland, though a little examination below the surface will show that the roots were beginning to fail.

Nothing of any very great importance happened between 1612 and 1616. Those were years of quietness; of quiet and pensive endurance on the part of the ardent Presbyterians; of quiet and (by comparison) firm government in Church and State.

There was much need of it, for in many parts of Scotland, and especially in the Highlands and Islands and on the borders, nothing like a "king's peace" was maintained. Private wars, brawlings in the streets, and such like disturbances were common even in the most civilised parts of the Lowlands. But it was the Celtic magnates of the Highlands, the chiefs of clans, with their separate character and their terrible mutual enmities, who gave most trouble and were the greatest foes of public order. James from his distant Whitehall and his strong Privy Council in Scotland strove to reduce the powers of the terrible Highland chiefs. Against the Macgregors and the Macdonalds of Islay the king was

particularly stringent. In 1610 the Macgregors were put to fire and sword—*i.e.* their neighbours received full authority to slay them and lay waste their lands—and a few years after their very name was wiped out by Parliament. The Earl of Angus, Lord Stewart of Ochiltree, and others dealt summarily with other troublesome chieftains. In 1609 a kind of treaty was made between the chieftains and the central Government, called the "Band and Statutes of Icolmkill," because it was arranged in St Columba's island of Iona. It was provided, among other things, that there were to be parish churches throughout the region, and that the eldest son or daughter of every gentleman and yeoman was to be sent to school in the Lowlands and thoroughly taught English. The other provisions dealt with beggary, vagabondage, and other offences against social well-being. The Macdonalds of Islay were suppressed in 1614 and 1615. In 1612 the Orkney and Shetland Islands were finally annexed to the Scottish Crown.

The borders too got much benefit at this time. A joint body of five English and five Scottish commissioners was appointed to keep order, and they had twenty-five mounted police under them who worked wonders. The borders became really orderly under this rule, afterwards modified in detail, and were for the first time genuinely a part of Britain.

It was the same wise policy which led James to people Ulster, in Ireland (where a great rebellion had blazed in the last years of Elizabeth and after her death), with Scottish colonists, led by important magnates such as the Duke of Lennox and Lord Ochiltree. The "Plantation of Ulster," as it was called, was one of the few happy events that have occurred in Irish history, for the Scots who crossed the Channel were a strong and industrious element in a land where the want of strength and industry has been conspicuous and disastrous. The plantation began in 1610 and went on for some time.

In 1616 it came to be known that James intended to pay a visit to his northern kingdom. What the visit would probably lead to was felt at a General Assembly held at Aberdeen in August. The Assembly professed to be anxious to put down Romanism, and Aberdeen was chosen, as being the centre of the district of the "Popish lords." But Presbyterians believed that the mention of "Popery" was a mere blind, and that the real object of the Assembly was to strengthen the king's Episcopal grip on the Scottish Church and people. Its proceedings were very despotic. "They drifted tyme to make the assemblie to wearie. . . . They suffered all malcontents to depart. There rested nothing then but to aske at those who were present, 'What say ye, my lord? What say ye, laird? What say ye, Mr Doctor?' It was answered, 'Well, my lord.' If any man pressed to speak the bishop wagged his finger, and that meant silence. The ministers roundit in the ears of others, 'How can we either vote or speake true freely having the king's guard standing behind our backs?'" The Assembly justified the alarm of the disciples of Knox and Melville by proposing great changes in worship. These were afterwards reduced by the king to Five Articles, which he wished to become canons of the Church. (1) The communion was to be received in a kneeling posture; (2) the communion might be administered privately, in case of serious sickness; (3) private baptism might be allowed in similar cases; (4) Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsuntide were to be observed; (5) catechising of children, preparatory to confirmation, by the parish minister and subsequent blessing by the bishop.

These Five Articles (soon to be known as the Articles of Perth) caused a breach between the king and his Scottish bishops. These men had much sympathy with the Scottish Church. They had become somewhat jealous of English interference and of the arbitrary bringing in

of Anglican customs. Spottiswoode, the Archbishop of St Andrews, told the king that the Five Articles were unwelcome, and advised him to put off pressing them for a year, until after his visit to Scotland.

In preparation for that visit changes had been made in the chapel at Holyrood. The minds of good Presbyterians were much troubled by the landing of organs at Leith and by the arrival of English carpenters to set up wooden figures of the apostles and evangelists in the chapel. Again the bishops intervened, and the king consented, with a very bad grace, to put off both the Five Articles and the decoration of the chapel.

The king entered Scotland on 13th May 1617, and left it again on the 4th of August. He went through the chief towns, and was received with a great deal of enthusiasm. But the Church question threw a shadow over all. Presbyterians were shocked by the Anglican observances, and especially by the kneeling at the holy communion, which the king not only observed for himself and his household but sought to impose on his Scottish subjects.

From the date of this visit to the end of his reign (1617-1625) James sought to attain his objects in Scotland by the exercise of his personal will. It was by his "prerogative," as the exercise of that will was called, that he now, against the better judgment of his best Scottish bishops and the steady disapprobation of the Presbyterian clergy over whom they ruled, pushed on the Five Articles. He made a show of getting Parliamentary authority, but when opposition showed itself he spurned Parliament. While he was still in Scotland a conference of clergy met him at St Andrews in July 1617, but the king told them that he should disregard their approval or disapproval unless supported by unanswerable arguments. A General Assembly met at St Andrews in November and agreed to the Second Article, ordering private communion

for the sick, modified by many safeguards. The consideration of the other four was postponed for a time. All the Scottish clergy, bishops and Protestant ministers alike, with the bulk of the nation, stumbled at the order to take the sacrament kneeling, because in the Scottish mind (which had learned from Calvin and Knox that the Mass was "idolatry"), kneeling was inseparably associated with an adoration of the elements, which seemed to imply belief that they had ceased to be bread and wine and were actually the body and blood of Christ. Whatever the bishops may have personally felt they were too much in sympathy with the flocks they were set over to desire that in such a matter the conscience of a nation should be outraged. Forbes, afterwards bishop of Aberdeen, wrote: "I dispute not of the points themselves; but I am persuaded if so wise, so learned, and so religious a king as God has blessed us with were fully and freely informed, or did thoroughly conceive the sad sequel of enforcing our Church that neither in the points already proposed nor in any which we fear yet to ensue for this intended conformity, would His Majesty esteem any of such fruit and effect as therefore the state of a quiet kirk should be marred, the minds of brethren, who . . . were beginning again to warm in mutual love, should be of anew again . . . distracted."

When James heard of the doings of the St Andrews Assembly he wrote in great anger, threatening the ministers who refused the Articles with the "discharge of all modification of stipends" for a year. Next year he conquered. An Assembly held at Perth in August 1618 adopted the Five Articles by a majority of 86 over 40. The bishops were no more convinced than before; they considered that the decision of the Assembly was neither an act of *ecclesiastical* nor of *national* will; but they bore it because, as one of them said: "I see not with what conscience we can refuse these, being urged as they are by our sovereign lord and king."

James had got his way, but at the cost of greatly increased Scottish alienation. The Articles were ratified by Parliament in 1621, and then came a struggle to enforce them. The few remaining years of James' reign saw many acts of royal and Episcopal authority and many of ministerial and congregational resistance. There was no regular way of enforcing the Act of Parliament by which the Articles were made law, and the king might invent punishments according to his pleasure and ingenuity. A spy system was carefully worked, and there were constant reportings, reprovings, and threatenings. At Christmas 1624, for example, the king ordered a celebration of the communion to be held at Edinburgh, the communicants to receive kneeling—the penalty in case of refusal being the banishment of the Court of Session and other Courts of Justice from the capital. The magistrates and bishops having remonstrated the king was led to withdraw the order and to wait for the healing and educating influences of time. In the following spring, March 1625, he passed away.

His reign was not a happy one for himself or for either of the two lands he had ro rule. He was unhappy in his parents, unhappy in the training and guardianship of his nonage, unhappy in being expected to steer a perfectly right course amid the dangerous cross currents of Romanism, Calvinism, and Anglicanism; unhappy, above all, in his own disposition, which was a strange mixture of imperiousness and pliability, sensuality and religiosity, polite learning and coarseness. "He was of a middle stature . . . his eyes large, ever rolling after any stranger who came in his presence; his tongue too large for his mouth; his legs were very weak, that weakness made him ever leaning on other men's shoulders."

On the whole, perhaps, James was less of a failure in Scotland than in England. We remember what he did for the Highlands, the Borders, and for Ireland; we ought

also to associate some other good things with this queer king. He made a great though only partially successful attempt to found a new colony for the Scots on the eastern shore of North America. It was to be called New Scotland, *Nova Scotia*, and the migration to it was to be led by men who, either by paying a sum of money or by sending out a certain number of skilled workmen, were to receive a new hereditary title, that of *baronet*, and 30,000 acres of Nova Scotian land. Not many people emigrated in James' lifetime, but a great many took up the baronetcies. It was then and thus that baronets came into existence in Britain.

James also made many excellent constitutional changes in Scotland, of which we shall hear in our last chapter but one. Scottish commerce grew to very considerable dimensions in this reign; Scottish men of letters, learning, and science, such as Napier of Merchiston, Alexander of Menstrie, Drummond of Hawthornden, George Buchanan, and others, gave their land a high place in European fame.

In 1582, more than twenty years before he became king of England, James founded a fourth university at Edinburgh, and so gave a proof, which all men might see, of his love of learning and the learned.

In Scotland, as in England, James was immediately succeeded by his son Charles I., born at Dunfermline in 1600. During the first thirteen years of his reign (1625-1638) we shall have little to think about in Scottish history except the old questions of the Church and the bishops. We shall see the gradual growth of a national resistance to the religion put upon Scotland by the Stewart kings, a resistance which came to a head in the memorable years 1637 and 1638. We remember how James, by his despotic and Anglican ways, strained the support even of his creatures the Scottish bishops. We must now trace how the great alliance between the Scottish kings and the Scottish nobles,

by means of which James had succeeded so well in imposing his will in Scotland, first showed signs of breaking up and then changed into opposition.

There were signs of change as early as James' visit in 1617. One of the most noteworthy things in Scottish society was the existence of what were known as *hereditary jurisdictions*—that is, powers of dispensing justice, even to life and death, possessed by the larger landowners, and descending with their lands to their eldest sons. This feudal institution, complicated, as in Scotland it was, with the peculiar institutions of the Celtic Highlanders, stood in the way of strong central Government and, in the Parliament of 1617 James tried to bring the hereditary jurisdictions to an end, though he only succeeded in getting a commission appointed to correspond with any noble who might be willing to give up his jurisdiction. As no noble was willing, reform in this direction hung fire for a time. But the magnates felt that the king might become their enemy.

After the accession of Charles they had reason to feel that he had actually become so. We remember how much Church property in Scotland came into lay hands after the Reformation. A large part of this property consisted of tithes—"teinds" as they were called in Scotland. After a fashion followed by many previous Scottish kings, Charles, immediately after his accession, issued a "General Revocation," whereby all the Church and Crown lands alienated since the accession of Queen Mary were to be recovered for the Crown. This Act naturally met with intense and protracted opposition. But by 1629, after much perseverance and ingenuity, Charles had carried his point. The alienated property was all vested in the Crown, with compensation of ten years' purchase to the deprived owners. As for the "teinds," out of which the parish ministers were supported, it was made possible for the landholders of each parish to buy them, at a fixed valuation, from the various classes of middlemen to whom they had been

farmed out since the Reformation. The Act of Revocation was confirmed by Parliament in 1633.

In 1633 Charles came to Scotland to receive the crown of his northern kingdom and to ascertain for himself the temper of the people whom he had to rule there. What were to be his relations to (1) the Scottish bishops; (2) the nobles; (3) the Calvinistic and Presbyterian clergy? It was soon clear that the temperature of Presbyterianism on the whole was at least no lower than during the fight about the Articles of Perth. The burning question now, as then, was that of "Innovations"—*i.e.* Anglican practices in Scottish worship. Charles would not suspend the general obligation of the Articles of Perth; and he became very anxious, as time went on, to make the two Churches uniform in doctrine and practice. His anxiety was shared and his purpose strengthened by William Laud, president of St John's College, Oxford, Bishop of St David's, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud is famous in English history as one of the great inspirers and organisers of the Church of England, and also as one of those advisers of Charles I. who provoked the Great Rebellion against him. Laud accompanied Charles to Scotland in 1633.

Now, it was the uniformity in Church practice which formed Laud's ideal that the Scottish temper resisted, and the resistance this time was by no means confined to the more ardent Presbyterians. The question of prayer-books was beginning to come to the front. At intervals from 1616 onwards attempts had been made to prepare a liturgy less Calvinistic than Knox's Book of Common Order, and yet free from High Anglican characteristics, and a prayer-book was drafted and licensed for printing as early as 1619. Laud persuaded Charles that it would be seemly and would tend to spiritual unity to have one liturgy for both Churches.

The ritual observed in Charles' presence during his Scottish visit was very alarming to Scottish feelings. It

was noticed that there was much bowing to crucifixes and that the Archbishop of St Andrews and four bishops performed the coronation service "with white rochets and white sleeves, and loops of gold having blue silk to their foot."

All this inflamed the temper of Scottish Presbyterianism. The Scottish bishops were rather a feeble folk. They disliked Anglicanism as such, and they knew how impossible it would be to force it on the Scottish nation, but they had yielded to James' blunt despotism, and it was not likely that they would resist the more wily ways of Charles and the new and powerful influence of Laud. They had done nothing to make them either strong or popular in Scotland. Besides, many of the old bishops were being displaced by new ones in full sympathy with Laud.

Charles had thus alienated the nobles by his action on the tithe question; he and Laud had partly alienated and partly overwhelmed the bishops by their efforts to produce uniformity of worship; and he had alarmed the Presbyterian temper generally by the ecclesiastical despotism which he was exercising.

Charles met the Scottish Parliament during his visit, and here the beginnings of a national resistance were clearly shown. We remember the curious institution known as the Lords of the Articles—*i.e.* the committee through which the Estates did their business. In 1633 this committee was a most formidable body. The Lords of the Articles were thirty-two in number, consisting of bishops, nobles, lairds, and burghers. To these the king added eight officers of state, and he could himself be present at the deliberations of the Lords. They were chosen so as to make them agents of the royal will; and the abundant legislation of the Parliament of 1633 was entirely their work, without any discussion by the other representatives. With regard to the burning question of "innovations," the Acts of James VI. concerning religion were all confirmed.

It was said to be one of the king's prerogative and Parliamentary rights to dictate as to the official dress of the clergy. All the Bills were passed by a very small majority, and in the teeth of a protest from the opposition which never reached the king's hand.

After Charles left Scotland the development of opposition went on. The dissentients, headed by John Elphinstone, Lord Balmerino, drew up a supplication, which was signed by a great number of the nobility and others of the late Parliament. In this document the high-handed doings, both as to Church and State, of the king and the Estates were freely condemned, and the firm tone of the supplication was a sufficient warning to the king, if he could have taken it aright.

When the supplication reached the hand of Charles he treated it as a seditious libel and prosecuted Balmerino. If Balmerino had been found guilty he would have been executed, but the majority against him was only one, and such a conviction was regarded as equivalent to an acquittal. This happened in 1635.

Thus, then, the king had quarrelled with the Scottish Parliament, and had made up his mind to govern Scotland, or at least to try to govern it, according to the ideas of Laud and clergy like-minded with him. The appointment of new bishops went on, and an important step in the direction of ecclesiastical despotism was taken in the appointment of Spottiswoode to the chancellorship in 1635, a post which since the Reformation had always been held by a layman. Seven bishops were added to the Privy Council.

The result of all this policy was the isolation of the bishops. They were, of course, disliked by Presbyterians as such because they were bishops. They were disliked, again, by moderate people, who would have had no quarrel with bishops as such, because they were followers of Laud. Once more, the nobles and the lawyers dis-

liked them because they sought after places of civil power.

The attitude of *the nobles* was greatly changed. In the past they supported bishops in order to keep down the Presbyterian ministers; now they looked on the bishops as disagreeable rivals in temporal power.

The middle class—the smaller lairds and the burghers—had been educated by the share given them in the business of Presbyterian Church courts, and this education increased their patriotic feeling.

So it came about that in 1635 there was a Scottish opposition which might fairly be called *national*—an opposition to Episcopacy regarded as an importation from England.

In 1637 the opposition broke into rebellion. In 1636 a book arrived in Scotland, the object of which was to regulate the worship of the Scottish Church. It was called "A Book of Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical . . . for the Government of the Church of Scotland, ratified and approved by His Majesty's Royal Warrant." The authority was the king's, and Laud was the author of the book.

Some of the canons were good, ordering a reverent and seemly behaviour in Christian worship. Others, such as one ordering kneeling at the communion, went against the consciences of the Scots. In these rules for the government of the Church there was no mention of any Presbyterian institution.

But what made the canons unbearable to the Scots was that which was set forth by their title—namely, that they were ratified by the king's royal warrant, and by that *alone*. Episcopalian and Presbyterian, noble and laird and burgher, united in resenting this Erastian and despotic interference of a distant king, steeped in the atmosphere of another Church, and swayed by the influence of an Anglican prelate whom many of them suspected, however unjustly, of playing into the hands of Rome.

The flame of actual rebellion, however, was lighted, not by the canons of 1636, but by the prayer-book of 1637. We remember that liturgical revision had been going on in Scotland with very varying energy since 1616. Then Laud's influence greatly altered its character. Certain of the new Laudian bishops had been at work since 1634 under Laud's direction, and had produced a prayer-book which in certain parts, and especially in the Communion Office, was more Roman than the Anglican Book of Common Prayer.

Like the canons, the new prayer-book was issued by the royal authority alone. It arrived in Scotland in May 1637, and every minister was ordered to purchase two copies on pain of outlawry. On the 23rd of July it was used for the first time in St Giles' Church at Edinburgh, and an extraordinary scene followed. The cries of enraged women drowned the voice of the clergyman, and somebody threw a stool at the bishop. The church had to be cleared by the police, and the bishop had difficulty in getting home alive.

A series of riots followed, which the Government might have suppressed if they had been whole-hearted in the work. But Charles' difficulty was that the opposition in Scotland was fast becoming a national rebellion and that even his Privy Council was full of the new Scottish patriotism.

The opposition grew in activity and resource, and directed itself definitely against the bishops. First came petitions to the council. One, signed by Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, near St Andrews, and others of the clergy, proclaimed that the Church of Scotland was free and independent. Some were signed by nobles, gentry, ministers, and burghers. In October 1637 general supplications were made, in which the bishops were directly accused to the king. They were charged with being the source of all the troubles, and the king was asked to remove them from the council, so as to prevent them

from sitting in judgment when the trial of their conduct should take place.

Charles and the council were very angry with the supplicants. Most of them were ordered to leave Edinburgh, and the king threatened to punish the capital by removing the Privy Council and the Court of Session to Linlithgow and Dundee. These threats raised the Edinburgh mob to a dangerous pitch of exasperation.

The opposition was now large and important enough to have a kind of constitution of its own. In November 1637 a body of commissioners was formed known as "The Tables." It was divided into four committees—(1) nobles; (2) gentlemen; (3) burghers; (4) ministers. The importance of the Tables in Scottish history lies in the fact that it gave a real representative Parliament to the national opposition—a Parliament including the ministers of religion, a most vital part of the Scottish people.

The nobles and lairds took the lead of the opposition. The Earl of Traquair told Charles that the Scottish people were determined to choose their religion for themselves, according to their own consciences, and would not take a religion from the Crown. Charles issued a proclamation at Stirling in February 1638, in which he insisted on Laud's prayer-book, and said that those who opposed the bishops opposed the king. This was immediately met by protestations, which are to be taken as implying that the king's proclamation, being issued by a council containing bishops, was null and void. This was, of course, flat rebellion, and there were evidently now two governments in Scotland—one with the king and bishops behind it, the other with the Scottish people behind it.

That the people might be more strongly bound together and might speak with a greater voice, the commissioners proposed that they should draw up and issue a *National Covenant.* It was founded upon what we remember as the Negative Confession of 1581, which King James had

signed. It is a document of very great importance; and to understand it, to enter into its spirit, and to realise from the list of people who signed it that it is the spirit and voice of the whole nation, is to understand the essence of Scottish history. We must always remember about the National Covenant that it was (1) religious; (2) Protestant; (3) ardently loyal; (4) Presbyterian, without declaring against bishops. The Covenant began to be signed in the churchyard of Greyfriars, Edinburgh, on 1st March 1638.

Although there was nothing expressly said against bishops in the National Covenant the doom of Scottish Episcopacy was sealed. The king on the one side and the covenanted nation on the other tried to negotiate. The Marquis of Hamilton, as Lord High Commissioner, paid three visits to Scotland in 1638 on behalf of Charles, who had given him power "to settle all."

The Scots demanded the abolition of the Court of High Commission, the withdrawal of the Book of Canons and the prayer-book, a free Parliament, and a free General Assembly. Nothing was said as yet about the abolition of Episcopacy. Charles began by demanding the surrender of the National Covenant: he said that as long as it was in force he was but a doge of Venice in Scotland and no king. At last, at the end of protracted and often-renewed negotiations, the king granted the Scottish demands, and said that the bishops should be responsible to a "free" General Assembly. Instead of the National Covenant (which, however, was not to be done away with) a "King's Covenant," as it was called, was put together out of the Confession of 1581 and a covenant of 1590. The Privy Council signed the new document, and it was sent round the country that signatures might be collected. It was very sparsely signed.

As for the other proposed concessions, the Covenanters set them aside, with the plea so ready on Scottish lips,

the plea of *spiritual independence*. The king's proposals, however good in themselves, were *Erastian*; the Church could, and must, regulate its own affairs, and royal interference was not to be brooked, even if it took the form of concession to Scottish desires.

A General Assembly met at Glasgow in November 1638, and sat for a month. It contained a strong body of laymen—Hamilton was present as Lord High Commissioner; the Moderator was Alexander Henderson of Leuchars; the clerk was the laird and lawyer, Johnston of Warriston. No bishops sat, for bishops were on their trial at the bar of this very Assembly.

It was the trial of the bishops that chiefly occupied the Assembly. They were looked upon as innovators and dictators from the outside, and therefore as mere troublers of the peace of the Church. The express objections to them were partly ecclesiastical and partly moral. They had exercised illegal powers and practised illegal ceremonies; besides, it was alleged they were disqualified and disgraced by every sort of vice.

The bishops denied the right of the Assembly to try them, but the Assembly would not admit the denial. The denial was at once treated as an act of rebellion. Hamilton dissolved the Assembly in the king's name and withdrew. The Assembly went on with the trial of the bishops, of whom there were fourteen; deposed six, and deposed and excommunicated eight. Then they declared Episcopacy abolished for ever, and all the acts of assemblies which had allowed Episcopacy to be null and void. Here ends the first of the four parts into which we divided the struggle about the bishops.

II. (1638-1649). The second part lasted eleven years. It was, on the whole, a time of war.

After the abolition of Episcopacy both sides—the king and the Scottish nation—knew that there was no way of settling the dispute except by arms. All through 1638

both sides were preparing for war. Hamilton told Rothes that if the Scots did not give up the Covenant Charles would invade Scotland with 40,000 men. Charles told Hamilton to secure, if possible, the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling while he was negotiating with the Presbyterian nobles and ministers, and he had a fleet in readiness to enter the Firth of Forth. Thomas Wentworth, afterwards the famous Earl of Strafford, who lost his life in 1641, urged the king to uncompromising firmness.

The quality of the new Scottish unity expressed by the National Covenant was now tried by what are known as the "First and Second Bishops' Wars," which soon became English as well as Scottish, and broadened out into the Great Civil War.

In the first half of 1639, before the actual shock of collision between the English and Scottish forces, there was fighting in the north-east of Scotland. The region which has Aberdeen for its chief town was chiefly Episcopalian, and devoted to the Marquis of Huntly, the great magnate whose estates lay there. To win the Huntly country for Protestantism had always been a chief ambition of the followers of Knox and Melville, and now a brilliant champion of the Covenant appeared in the person of John Graham, Earl of Montrose. In February 1639 Montrose, with a lieutenant under him, Alexander Leslie, afterwards Earl of Leven, who had won renown under Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, perpared a force of a few thousand men to go against the Gordons. This force formed the *nucleus* of a Covenanting army which gradually grew. In May there was an engagement between Covenanters and Royalists known as the "Trot of Turriff," in which the Royalists won the day. Then there was fighting for Aberdeen, which was secured for the Covenant in June. Huntly was taken prisoner, but the Gordon region as a whole remained Royalist.

In the First Bishops' War Charles' plan was to send a force under Hamilton to join Huntly on the north-east and then move south, while a force was to remain in the north of England to block the southward advance of the Scots. The Scottish plan was to move southwards towards the English border. The Covenanters had a force of 20,000 men, under Alexander Leslie. The English force, of which the king himself took the command, was not more than 15,000. They were badly trained, and without the fiery spirit which religious and patriotic fervour gave to their enemies. They were also sadly without money. Charles brought his numbers up to something like equality with those of the Scots before the armies met at Duns Law, near Berwick-on-Tweed. After all, no battle followed the meeting. Wentworth urged Charles not to fight, and there was not enough antipathy between the two nations to force them into mutual slaughter. So a treaty—called the Treaty of Berwick—was arranged at Duns Law on 18th June, and the First Bishops' War came to an end. The Scots were to disband their army; to give up Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and Dalkeith; and to abolish "The Tables." Charles was to disband his forces and to declare that ecclesiastical matters should be settled by "free" General Assemblies, and civil matters by "free" Parliaments. He promised that an Assembly and a Parliament should be held without delay.

The promised Assembly met at Edinburgh in August 1639. Charles had summoned archbishops and bishops to take their places as usual, but he soon had to withdraw the summons. The Assembly was one of Covenanters, and its business chiefly was to confirm what had been done the year before at Glasgow. In addition, it persuaded the Privy Council to impose the National Covenant on the whole nation instead of allowing it to be voluntarily taken.

Parliament met on 31st August, and confirmed what the Assemblies had done. Episcopacy in Scotland was

thus *disestablished* by the State, though the royal assent was not obtained to the doings of the Estates.

When they met again in June 1640 they acted as a *sovereign assembly—i.e.* as being answerable to no higher authority than their own. They arranged their affairs without reference to the king; they were to meet triennially with or without the royal summons; a committee of them was to sit permanently after the adjournment.

Now students of English history know how this Scottish rebellion against bishops and against the king as forcing on Episcopacy helped the Great Rebellion of the English Parliament against the Crown. Although James I.'s and Bacon's attempts to unite Scotland had failed the movement of the two countries towards each other was never really checked, and all events more or less rapidly brought it on.

In 1639 and 1640 attempts were made to revive the old alliance between Scotland and France, but the strong sympathy between Scottish Covenanters and English Puritans (as those were called who were most strongly opposed to Charles and Laud) made such an alliance impossible any more.

The Second Bishops' War broke out in August 1640. It was the last war between England and Scotland as such. Henceforward the Scots when they fought on English soil would fight for one English party against another or for the English nation against a party within it, but the national feeling between England and Scotland, however long it might keep up animosity, was never again to lead to bloodshed.

Indeed, strictly speaking, the Second Bishops' War was between the king and the Scots rather than between the nations. It was not much of a war, for Charles had little money and his forces had little heart. The Scots were led by Alexander Leslie, the English by Strafford

as lieutenant-general. The Scots invaded England, marching through Northumberland to try to take Newcastle and its coalfield. A battle was fought at Newburn-on-Tyne, four miles above Newcastle. The English under Conway had an indefensible position, and they were quickly defeated. On pressed the Scots, taking Newcastle, Durham, Tynemouth, and Shields, and occupying firmly the two counties of Northumberland and Durham.

They proceeded to negotiate as conquerors with the king, who was at York. The real Scottish superiority was neither in number nor in fighting but in the fact that Charles was fast coming to stand alone in England as he had long done in Scotland. Those who opposed him in England were inclined to look upon the Scottish invaders as friendly rather than hostile. Thus on 28th August 1640 twelve leading English peers signed a petition in favour of the summons of an English Parliament and of negotiation with the Scots "in order that both kingdoms might be united against the common enemy of their reformed religion."

From this point to the death of King Charles Scottish history is a mere element in English history, and we can pass quickly over its events.

Charles began to hold a "Treaty"—*i.e.* a series of negotiations—with the Scots at Ripon on 2nd October. They negotiated for three weeks, with the result that the Scots continued to hold Northumberland and Durham, and were to be paid at the rate of £850 a day, on the security of the principal landowners of the two counties, for the first month of their occupation.

As the famous Long Parliament was about to meet in London the treaty was continued there instead of at Ripon. It dragged on until August 1641, the Scots being firmly fixed all the while from Tweed to Tees. In the end the Scots gained what they wanted, and then they recrossed the Tweed into their own land.

As soon as peace was thus restored King Charles paid a visit to Edinburgh, partly (as he said) to give the royal assent to the Acts which the Estates had passed on their own authority, partly (as we now know) to try to get Scottish support against the attacks of the English Parliament. He arrived in Edinburgh on 14th August 1641, and was received with every sign of loyalty. He behaved like the king of a Presbyterian people and attended Presbyterian services. He touched with his sceptre thirty-nine Acts of Parliament; made the Earl of Loudon chancellor; Alexander Leslie Earl of Leven; the Earl of Argyll a marquis. The Scottish Parliament of 1641 shows how quickly Scottish powers of self-government had grown. Three hundred and sixty-five Acts were passed by it, and the Parliament, much against the king's will, actually made its assent necessary to all appointments to the Court of Session and the Privy Council.

And now let us ask: Was this vigorous Scottish nation, the Covenanted people of 1638, at unity in itself at this time? The answer must be *yes* and *no*. There could be no doubt about the wonderful unity of Church and State which was expressed in the Covenant, which fired Leslie's forces in the Bishops' War, and which made the Scots masters of the British situation in 1641. Again, some progress had been made towards the *social* union of Scotland since Montrose's capture of Aberdeen for the Covenant in 1639. In 1640 a commission of fire and sword was given to the Earl of Argyll to pursue certain of the magnates who were "unnatural to their country." Among these were the Earl of Atholl, Farquharson in Braemar, Ogilvie in Forfarshire. Argyll seems to have done his work thoroughly.

Within the unity of the Covenant, however, distinctions of party began to appear, which showed at least the possibility of an anti-Covenanting reaction in Scotland.

The chief opposition of this kind was that between Montrose and Argyll. Montrose was jealous of Argyll with his vast territories and vast influence, and he had cause to be. During the Second Bishops' War it was actually proposed to make Argyll a temporary *dictator* (as the Romans used to call a magistrate to whom unlimited power was given for a time), whereupon nineteen noblemen and gentlemen, led by Montrose, made a secret bond, called (from a place near Glasgow) the Bond of Cumbernauld, in which loyalty to the Covenant was carefully combined with loyalty to the king. In May 1641 Montrose accused Argyll of wishing to depose Charles. For this he was tried by the Estates and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle.

As the king's visit went on the split between Argyll and other magnates (*e.g.* Hamilton, and Lanark, his brother) got wider and wider, and in October a plot to assassinate Argyll and Hamilton was discovered. Its real agent was the Roman Catholic Earl of Crawford and not, as was thought, Montrose himself, still less the king. This plot is known as *The Incident.*

On the whole, however, the result of Charles' Scottish visit in 1641 was the strengthening of the Covenanting Government under Argyll and Loudoun. And down to the king's death in 1649 Scottish history is Covenanting history, and it is mainly influenced by English affairs and by the attractions and repulsions of English Puritanism.

As England drifted into civil war, in spite of divisions of Scottish parties and opinions, it gradually became clear how the sympathies of Scotland would go. In April and May 1642 Charles appealed to the Scottish council for help against the English Parliament, and both times help was refused. When the war actually broke out Presbyterianism and not the Crown was the real link between the two countries. The English attack on the Anglican Church began in the summer of 1641. It was

only natural that the "Root and Branch" party (as those in England were called who were opposed to Episcopacy) should look for sympathy to a land from which bishops had been cast out and where Presbyterianism reigned supreme. Sympathetic messages passed between the English Presbyterians and the Scottish General Assembly in 1641 and 1642. In the latter year the English Presbyterians expressed the hope that "both countries might agree to one confession of faith, one directory of public worship, one public catechism and form of government."

This hope was realised in the famous Westminster Assembly of Divines, which met in July 1643. The idea of holding such an assembly came first from England and was expressed in the Grand Remonstrance; it was the combining power of Presbyterianism that made it Anglo-Scottish.

The Assembly of Divines had two great objects: to put down Episcopacy, and to bring the Anglican Church into agreement with the Scottish Church and the Reformed Churches of the Continent. It was essentially a joint assembly. The English Parliament sent to it 10 peers, 20 of the commons, 121 clergy. From Scotland came 4 ministers—Robert Baillie of Kilwinning, Alexander Henderson of Leuchars, Samuel Rutherford of Anwoth on the Solway, and George Gillespie; and 8 laymen—Johnston of Warriston, Cassilis, Maitland, Argyll, Balmerino, Loudon, Meldrum, and Winram. The assembly debated point after point of doctrine and ritual, to be held and practised by the Church which they wished to be common to the two lands. Though the general and final decisions were Presbyterian and Calvinistic there was much difference of opinion among those who agreed in disapproving of Episcopacy. There was a large and increasing number of Independents—*i.e.* those who believed that each congregation was a Church in itself and that there ought to be no grouping in Presby-

teries and Synods and no power of discipline over congregations. Again, the Scottish Presbyterians were much more afraid of "Erastianism' (*i.e.* civil power in spiritual matters) than the English Presbyterians. Robert Baillie of Kilwinning, whose graphic letters describing the doings of the Assembly are one of our best authorities for the period, said that "they (the divines) had no power to write . . . but as the Parliament directs."

The progress of the great English controversy broke up the unity of feeling in Scotland. Royalism in England led to a development of Royalism in Scotland, of which the leaders were the Earl of Hamilton, and Lanark, his brother. Yet the sympathy between the two countries was never closer than in 1643-44. The success of the English Royalists in 1643 suggested to the great Parliamentary leader John Pym that it would be a good thing to get the Scots to fight on the side of the Parliament. If Scots and English could join together to reform the Church why not also to reform the State? Negotiations began at Edinburgh in August 1643, and terms of formal alliance between the two nations were drawn up in the shape of a "Solemn League and Covenant." This Covenant was Scottish in temper and expression, and it was too religious even for the English Parliament; but it answered its purpose, and the English Parliament adopted and signed it in September.

Another thing which expressed the sympathy of the two countries was the formation in February 1644 of a *Committee of both Kingdoms* for the management of the war. This committee did a good deal of what may almost be called law making, and so was a kind of foreshadowing of the coming United Parliament.

Yet there were two great hindrances to unity ever at work—(1) the intolerance of Scottish Presbyterianism; (2) the fascination of the royal House of Stewart for the Scottish mind. As the Westminster Assembly went on with its labours year after year the Scottish delegates grew

more and more dissatisfied with the Independents on the one hand and the Erastian English Presbyterians on the other.

The military co-operation did not fare very much better. The Scots crossed the Tweed under Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, and his nephew David in January 1644, and took Newcastle. In July they helped Cromwell and his army to win the great battle of Marston Moor, which makes such a figure in English history. There was, however, much jealousy between the Presbyterian Scots and the (chiefly) Independent Cromwellians as to their respective shares in the victory, and more and more the Scots got out of sympathy with that great English army which won the later conquests of Puritanism. We see, in fact, Independency more and more verging towards Republicanism on the one hand; and, on the other, Presbyterianism under Scottish leadership unsteadily reacting towards Royalism.

In 1643 Montrose, whom we last saw trying to win the Gordon country for the National Covenant, went over completely to the Royalist side, and in 1644-45 won a series of battles for the Crown. Montrose, now a marquis, had more objects than one in this course. He wanted to draw Leven's army back into Scotland; to overthrow the powerful Earl of Argyll by means of Celtic feeling; to organise Highland and Celtic forces. His chief victories were at Tippermuir, near Perth; Aberdeen, Inverlochy, Auldearn, Alford, and Kilsyth.

Students of English history know that the Great Civil War practically came to an end when Charles I. gave himself up to the Scottish army in April 1646. He resorted to the Scots because he knew their Royalism, and thought they were more likely to restore him than the English army. In the negotiations which followed, both the king and the Scots showed much folly and blindness. The Scots wanted Charles to sign the Solemn League and Covenant, which, as a strong Anglican, he, of course, would

not do, and the king was equally foolish in thinking that the Scots would ever be satisfied with less. The negotiations were therefore hopeless from the first, and in January 1647 the Scots gave up Charles to the English army and returned to their own land.

Party spirit was now actively at work both in Scotland and England. Hamilton and the Scottish Estates were opposed by Argyll and the Presbyterian clergy. In April and May 1647 Argyll, Lauderdale, and Dunfermline were working with the English Presbyterians for a Royalist restoration. Montrose's brilliant career had been brought to an end by his defeat at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, in 1645, and the Royalism now at work in Scotland was of a different kind from that of Montrose. From 1641 to 1645 Royalism meant the unconditional defence of Charles and of Episcopacy, and at that time Covenanted Scotland could be in no sense Royalist. But when, after 1645, Independency in England began to tend towards Republicanism Scotland began to take up a conservative attitude and to declare for the maintenance of kingship under strict conditions. The old Royalism was called by its enemies *Malignancy*, while the new military Independency was called *Sectarianism*.

The orthodox and consistent Presbyterians, of whom Baillie is the truest specimen and of whom Argyll and Eglinton were the prominent leaders, were quite resolved that if Charles were to remain king (as they passionately wished him to do) he must sign the Covenant. By the autumn of 1647 the parties of Argyll and Hamilton were definitely formed. With Hamilton went most of the magnates, with Argyll went the Presbyterian Church. On 26th December 1647 King Charles, at Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, signed an *Engagement* with members of Hamilton's party, by which he bound himself, in return for the help of Scottish arms, to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years and to put down the "Sectaries."

The king was not to take the Covenant, but he was to ratify it in Parliament.

Henceforward the Hamiltonians became known as the "Engagers," and to them Argyll and the Church remained in strong opposition. When the Estates met in March 1648 it was evident that Hamilton would get sufficient Parliamentary support through the overwhelming influence of the nobles. The Engagers at once proceeded to carry out their part of the bargain by invading England. This invasion and the short war that followed it are known as the Second Civil War. Hamilton was a bad general, and his force was much inferior to the hosts which the Leslies had brought over the border in 1639, 1640, and 1644. It was a collection of raw recruits, with inefficient officers, and with a section only of real Scottish people behind it—a section, too, without religious fervour. It was completely routed by Cromwell at the battles of Preston, Wigan, and Warrington, and on 25th August 1648 Hamilton surrendered at Uttoxeter.

Thus the Second Civil War, bringing defeat to Hamilton and the Engagers, was a triumph for Argyll and orthodox Presbyterianism. The sword which Hamilton laid down Argyll took up. The Highlanders flocked to his banner; the Presbyterians of the south-west rushed to arms under Eglinton; the Earl of Loudon, whose attitude had been uncertain, came over to the Anti-Engagers, and David Leslie gave his services. All these fought for the Covenant, and the movement they organised is known as the "Whiggamore's Raid." The Whiggamore insurgents took Edinburgh Castle and drove the Committee of Estates (who represented the party of Hamilton and Lanark) into Stirling. Before the end of September the Committee of Estates had yielded, and the government of Scotland was in the hands of Argyll and his following.

At this point there was a curious temporary alliance between Presbyterian Argyll and Independent Cromwell.

After his victories in the Second Civil War Cromwell pressed on northward, and early in October, a few days after the open triumph of the Whiggamores at Stirling, he entered Edinburgh. It was arranged between him and the Scottish leaders—Argyll and Johnston of Warriston—that all Scotsmen who had taken part in the engagement should be excluded from public office, and Cromwell left behind him in Scotland two regiments of cavalry under Lambert to support the Argyll government.

When the Estates met in January 1649 Argyll had complete predominance in the Assembly. Parliament then passed an *Act of Classes*, by which all Engagers, arranged in four groups, were shut out from Parliament and public office.

The alliance between Covenanted Scotland and the power of Cromwell was rudely broken within a month after the Act of Classes took its place in the Scottish Statute-Book. On 30th January Charles I. was beheaded. In that terrible act Presbyterian Scotland had no part whatever. From loyalty to Charles Stewart no party in Scotland had ever swerved, and from the moment of his execution co-operation of any kind with the regicides, and, of course, with Cromwell as a chief regicide, was impossible. Here we end the second of the four parts into which we divided the struggle about the bishops.

III. (1649-1660). During the eleven years of which this division consists three things come strongly before us. We see (1) Presbyterianism in full power; (2) a short trial of complete union with England; (3) the disturbing influence on Scotland of (*a*) Royalism, (*b*) English Republicanism.

Young Charles Stewart was proclaimed king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland at the Market Cross of Edinburgh on 5th February 1649. Charles was in Holland, and the Scots under the Argyll-Warriston government negotiated with him. They wanted to set him up in active

rule in Scotland on condition of his signing the two Covenants and accepting the creed and form of worship at last adopted, after many long struggles by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, which had just brought its sittings to an end. A successful bargain was made at Breda in May 1650, Charles engaging to uphold the Covenants and Presbyterianism; to sign the Covenants when he landed in Scotland; to maintain the supremacy of the Kirk in all ecclesiastical, and of the Scottish Parliament in all civil, matters; and to express regret for the sins of his father and grandfather and for the "idolatry" of his Roman Catholic mother, Henrietta Maria. Charles landed at the mouth of the Spey at the end of June 1650, having signed both the Covenants on board ship, and took up his quarters at Falkland Palace, in Fife.

In the meantime, while a united Scotland had been making its bargain with a Covenanted Stewart king, the English Commonwealth had abolished kingship, and between the two countries thus vitally differing from one another nothing but war was possible. As soon as Cromwell could be spared from his hard work in Ireland he was put at the head of an invading army to punish the Scots for making terms with the chief "malignant," Charles Stewart. Cromwell began his march northward in July 1650, and the Scots mustered 26,000 men, under David Leslie, to oppose him, the young king looking on at Leith. Cromwell's object was to take Edinburgh; the Scots tried to starve the English forces by wasting and clearing the borders. They succeeded so well that Cromwell, in danger of starvation, had to retreat on Dunbar, where he had Newcastle and English ships behind him. Leslie and the Scots followed and blocked Cromwell's retreat southwards by land, afterwards occupying a hill to the south of Dunbar. This was on 2nd September. On the 3rd the Scots descended the hill, and Cromwell fell upon them before they were in proper battle array, and defeated them utterly.

Cromwell was now able to push on to Edinburgh, which he occupied, without, however, as yet taking the castle.

After the battle of Dunbar the unity of Scotland was at an end. Instead of unity there was a fourfold condition of affairs.

(1) Cromwell was, by conquest, master of Edinburgh and Leith and of the south-eastern Lowlands to the south of the Firth of Forth. (2) The party which now represented the united nation which had welcomed Charles, the normal Presbyterian Government of Scotland, was still led by the king and by Argyll, and carried on its operations from centres at Perth and Stirling. This party held the machinery of government, and David Leslie remained its chief soldier. (3) In the south-west of Scotland (Ayr, Renfrew, etc.), where Eglinton had raised his men for the Whiggamore Raid in 1648, a party of extreme Calvinists was becoming prominent, under the name of "Westland Whigs," "Remonstrants," and "Protesters." Their watchword was "the Covenant without the young man Charles Stewart." These Protesters had a distinguished soldier in Archibald Strachan. (4) There were the old Royalists, or "Engagers," too broken and scattered to form a compact party, but still in existence as individuals,—*e.g.* Hamilton and Lauderdale. Their soldier was Middleton. The policy of the Engagers was to keep as much in and near the Highlands as possible, so as to be able to fall back on Celtic support.

This fourfold arrangement was too delicately balanced to last long. The great difficulty was the King. Was it in the least likely that he, with his antecedents, would remain faithful to Argyll and the Presbyterians; or would he not rather soon incline towards the Celtic and Royalist north? In September 1650 Charles was holding a kind of court at Perth, under the watchful supervision of the Estates at Stirling. On 4th October he gave a great shock to Presbyterianism by suddenly rid-

off towards the northern mountains with a convoy of Highlanders. This sudden ride is known as the "Start." In two days he was brought back to Perth, and the Argyll party resolved to treat him less as a prisoner. They not only, therefore, allowed him to be present at the meetings of the Estates but they made an alliance (known as the Treaty of Strathbogie) with the northern Royalists. Thus two out of the four parties had coalesced.

Soon afterwards the other two parties, the Cromwellian invaders and the Remonstrants, coalesced also. So that in the beginning of 1651 the condition of Scotland was this—(1) the country south of the Firths was Cromwellian by conquest and alliance; (2) north of the Firths it was, by possession and alliance, for Charles Stewart and Argyll.

Over his kingdom, such as it was, Charles was crowned king at Scone on 1st January 1651, and he then signed the Covenants once more.

The burning question now was: Would the whole of Scotland be won for Cromwell and the Commonwealth, or had King Charles, Argyll, and Middleton any chance of sending Cromwell to the south of Tweed and preserving the whole of the northern kingdom for the new Presbyterian Royalism?

The king had a large army, at the head of which was David Leslie. It was drawn up close to Stirling, and effectually barred the way northwards by Strathallan. Cromwell after attacking Stirling crossed the Forth much farther east, at Queensferry, and fought his way by Inverkeithing to Perth, which he took on 3rd August. He thus gained his immediate object—*viz.* to hamper the Government forces in the rear and cut them off from the Highlands; but meanwhile the Government forces, with Leslie's approval, but without Argyll's, resolved to move into England, to rouse Royalism there. Cromwell was forced to follow; and the great chase began which ended in the battle of Worcester, on 3rd September 1651, the captures of Leslie and Middleton, and the total rout of the Scottish army.

Thus the Scottish resistance to Cromwell was destroyed, and the question as to the immediate future of the country was answered in his favour.

The whole of Scotland, in fact, was won for the English Commonwealth. Cromwell left behind him in Scotland Monk with about 10,000 men. Two days before Worcester fight Dundee was taken, and the town heavily plundered. The poor Committee of the Estates, now a persecuted remnant, was holding a forlorn session at Alyth, in Perthshire, when they were seized by 800 men. The old Earl of Leven, Alexander Leslie, was among them. Such was the end of the Presbyterian Government which a year before had seemed so strong. By June 1652 the conquest of the Lowlands was complete.

Cromwell's plan for Scotland was a simple one. The country should be incorporated with the English Commonwealth. England was to be held to include Scotland; there was as yet no idea of a Great Britain, in which the two countries might be coequally included. An Ordinance of Indemnity was passed, excluding the royal family; the Houses of Hamilton, Loudoun, and Lauderdale; all Engagers; all who attended Parliament after Charles Stewart was crowned; and all who took up arms for him after Dunbar or followed him to Worcester.

The feeling in Scotland as to this union was much divided. It was said by one: "As for the embodying of Scotland with England, it will be as when the poor bird is embodied into the hawk that hath eaten it up." (1) The Presbyterian ministers were, on the whole, opposed to incorporation with a republic ruled by Independents, whom they called "blasphemous Sectaries." (2) The staunch old Royalists, Presbyterians, and others, of course, disliked it; so did (3) the Presbyterian enthusiasts and (4) the independent Scottish republicans. On the other hand, the bulk of the people were ready to welcome incorporation, partly because it seemed inevitable, partly

because the rule of Monk meant order and justice. There were also some old Royalists who preferred the rule of Oliver Cromwell to the rule of the Presbyterian Church; and there were, even in Scotland, some who were favourable to toleration and Independency.

Eight English commissioners appointed to arrange the union of the countries were at work at Dalkeith, near Edinburgh, in January 1652. They met representatives of the Scottish shires and burghs and "tendered" to them the scheme of incorporation. By April 1652 a majority of the Scottish districts had agreed, and an Act was read a second time "for the incorporating of Scotland into one Commonwealth and Free State with England, and for abolishing the kingly office in Scotland." The actual Ordinance of Incorporation was passed, 12th April 1654.

Meanwhile provision had to be made for carrying on the government of Scotland. The Privy Council and the Supreme Court of Justice—the Court of Session—ceased to act. In their place there was set up in 1652 a Commission of Seven—four being English and three Scottish—who administered justice and did some executive acts. This, with the army, was the Central Scottish Government until the summer of 1655.

The ordinance, declaring that its object was peace and welfare after the unhappy wars, announced the incorporation of Scotland and England, which was brought about chiefly by the *union of the Parliaments*—Scotland to send thirty members to the English Parliament. The Scots were absolved from their allegiance to Charles Stewart and his family, and that family was disabled from reigning or holding any of the Crown dominions. Kingship in general was abolished in Scotland, and the Estates gave up their right of meeting. There was to be entire free trade between the two lands.

Thus what James VI. had tried to do, without success,

was done easily by Oliver Cromwell, and England and Scotland were as entirely one as two states ever could be.

Why, then, do we know and think so little about this union; why was it so soon broken up; and why was the permanent union of England and Scotland so long delayed? In what remains of this book we shall be chiefly occupied in trying to answer these questions.

The free trade part of this Oliverian union (as we may call it) was an enormous benefit to Scotland. Scottish industry and commerce, though never of very large volume, were of great and increasing importance, and it was a powerful stimulus to have the English market thrown freely open. Scottish trade and shipping had their chief centres at Leith, and in the towns of Fife scattered along the northern shore of the Firth of Forth. The great industrial capabilities of Glasgow were just beginning to be recognised.

But the Oliverian union had one serious drawback for Scotland, inasmuch as *it tried to make Scotland too like Republican and Oliverian England.* The Court of Session, we have seen, had gone. If the Scots were attached to their Court of Session they were still more so to their General Assembly. The Presbyterians, though somewhat rent asunder in Commonwealth times, were bent on holding regular and efficient assemblies. In 1653 it struck Lilburne that the ecclesiastical Parliament, which had for so long both educated the Scots and been an outlet for their national feeling and energy, stood in the way of union. In July of that year the Assembly met at Edinburgh as usual, when suddenly, after two "gracious sermons" had been delivered, a Cromwellian colonel called Cotterell, who had beset the church in which the sittings were held with musketeers and horse, entered, and asked the Moderator whether the Assembly sat there with the authority of the English Parliament, or of the commander-in-chief of the English forces, or of the English judges in Scotland. The Moderator, of course, replied, as a true-blue Presbyterian was bound to do, that

the Assembly sat with the authority of its Divine Head as well as by the law of the land, and that that was enough. Whereupon Cotterell said that his order was to dissolve them, and that if they would not follow him out he would drag them out. The Assembly, sadly making up its mind to follow the peremptory soldier, was led a mile out of the town, and then told it must never again meet more than three in number, and that on the morrow all the members must leave the town. "Thus," moaned Baillie, "our General Assembly, the glory and strength of our Church upon earth, is by your soldiering trod and crushed under foot." That was the end of General Assemblies for many years to come. The truth is, one of those reactions to which all enthusiasms are subject was in progress, and Presbyterianism was not quite so vehement as it had been.

The machinery of the second stage of Oliverian Scottish government was in full working order by September 1655. It was partly *civil*, partly *military*. The civil government consisted of (*a*) a Council of State sitting in Edinburgh—eight in number, six English and two Scottish, of whom Monk was one—under the presidency of Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill; (*b*) seven Commissioners of Justice in place of the former Court of Session—four of whom were English and three Scottish; (*c*) the chief executive offices were retained, but chiefly in English hands.

The military government was a force of 10,000 men distributed over the principal, important, and strong places, under the supreme command of General Monk, who had English officers under him. This military force acted as a police force, and the officers to a large extent superseded sheriffs and other civil officials.

How did the Scots like this strange union and government? Some, like Baillie, regarded it as little better than a possession by foreign invaders, encamped among the ruins of the true Scottish civilisation. Yet, on the other hand, the mass of the Scottish people were by no means

dissatisfied, nor had they special reason for being so. Tried by three excellent tests the Government was a good one—(1) the police system was good: "A man may ride over all Scotland with a switch in his hand and £100 in his pocket, which he could not have done these 400 years," said a member of the council; (2) industry improved under the influence of free trade with England; (3) a better civilisation stole in among the middle and lower classes.

In 1653 and 1654 there was a serious rebellion under Glencairn and Middleton, which was thoroughly suppressed. Broghill was a singularly successful governor. Oliver himself as time went on had great schemes for propagating the Gospel in Scotland and for endowing Scottish universities. He had got so far towards popularity, or at least the winning of national respect, that there was a proposal to erect a statue to him at Edinburgh, and some of the stone for the purpose was landed at Leith just before his death.

Yet there were at least four good reasons why the Oliverian settlement of Scotland could not last. First, and perhaps most important, Oliver himself, the soul of his Government, died in September 1658. Secondly, Independency, on which the whole system of the Commonwealth was based, was really alien to Scottish feeling, and had no chance apart from Oliver's personal influence. Thirdly, the taxation needed to maintain the Government was intolerably heavy. Lastly, deep in the Scottish heart, Celtic and Teutonic, burned the feeling of loyalty to the Stewarts.

So that when Monk withdrew his soldiers, in December 1659 and January 1660, and went south to solve the problem of English politics, the chief bond between Scotland and the English Commonwealth was broken, and the country slipped back into the position it held before the battle of Worcester. Here we end the third of the four parts into which this chapter is divided.

IV. (1660-1689). Strictly speaking, the event known in English history as the Restoration was for Scotland no "Restoration" at all. The defeated fugitive from the field of Worcester had, we remember, been crowned king of Scotland at Scone, and he had never ceased to be king there. Yet Scotland fully and ardently shared in the Restoration joy. On the day of the coronation of Charles II. in England Edinburgh fairly lost its Presbyterian and Calvinistic head; there were feasting, health drinking, blazing of bonfires, wild dancing of reels in the open air outside Holyrood. The magistrates gave leave for twelve hours' unrestrained enjoyment; claret began to run in the streets, "trumpets, flutes, and all sorts of carousing instruments did forthwith sound a charge"; there was "breaking of glasses and tumbling of conduits among the commonality." And the tone of the country in general was not out of harmony with that of the capital. The bulk of Presbyterian Scotland was attached both to the idea of monarchy and to the family of Stewart. The fierce, uncompromising Presbyterianism which would have willingly given up "the young man Charles Stewart" at any time for principle was now confined to the *Whig Remonstrants* of the south-west. In the superior ranks of the nation generally, among the nobles and statesmen who guided national policy, there was a much more worldly and calculating temper than in the days of the National Covenant. Indeed, the bulk of the nobility in 1660 were ready to forsake even Presbyterianism for Charles II. So we have now to watch the destruction of the Oliverian Government and the putting together again of the system which it replaced.

A Committee of Estates (representing the old Scottish Estates as they were before the Oliverian union of Parliaments) met in August, and their doings showed little of the spirit of Knox or of Argyll. The Remonstrant ministers and elders held a meeting and presented a supplication to

Charles, beseeching him to maintain Presbyterianism and to remember that he was a Covenanted king. The Committee of Estates heard of the meeting, treated it as a meeting held without proper warrant, broke into it, seized the drafts of the supplication, and locked up the minister and elders in Edinburgh Castle. Indeed, an earnest attempt was made to stamp out the principles of the Remonstrants. Many ministers and many magistrates of towns were put in prison, and books which, fifteen years later, would have seemed the very voice of Scotland were publicly burned in the streets of Edinburgh.

A complete Parliament of the old type met in January 1661, the Scottish *regalia*, which were believed to have been lost, being exhibited with pride and satisfaction. They had been in the keeping of the Earl Marischal of Scotland, housed in Dunnottar Castle on the bleak eastern coast of Aberdeenshire, and when Cromwell's soldiers appeared before the castle the clever wife of a neighbouring minister carried them out through the ranks of the besiegers, the crown concealed in her lap, and the sword and sceptre serving for a spindle, with which she span as she went along. They were then concealed by her husband under the flagstones of his church until they were restored to light and dignity for the opening of the first Restoration Parliament.

Not by Remonstrants and Whiggamores only, but by all sensible people, the tone and temper of this Parliament were felt to be violent and inconsistent with continuity in national policy. Some said of the time: "It was a mad, roaring time, and no wonder, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk." Anyhow, they were drunk with reaction. Parliament made many laws, which upset not only what had been done under the Cromwellian *régime* but also what had been done during Scotland's best moments before the death of Charles I. The king was declared "supreme" in all causes, ecclesiastical as

well as civil, and that was flat "Erastianism" from the Scottish Presbyterian point of view. Again an Act was passed forbidding all convocations or leagues without the sovereign (reflecting on the Solemn League itself). To crown all, a short Act was passed, famous as the Act Rescissory, by which all the laws made since 1633 were repealed:

The Executive Government was entirely changed at the Restoration. A Scottish ministry was appointed by the king's sole authority in London in the summer of 1660. The chief members were Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn, the chancellor; Middleton, who was the king's Commissioner in the first Restoration Parliament; Crawford, the Lord Treasurer; Lauderdale, the Secretary of State; and Sir Archibald Primrose, Lord Clerk Register (*i.e.* Keeper of the Rolls). The ministry was the germ of a Privy Council which was gradually formed. This council, unlike the old Scottish Secret Council, was to exercise the powers of the Estates in the intervals of their meeting, and so, though it consisted of royal nominees only, it was to be a kind of permanent Parliament.

As for military arrangements, it was settled that the king should have a permanent life-guard. This was quite new, and the beginning of a standing army for Scotland.

Thus was the Cromwellian union of Scotland and England, which was so easily brought about, and which in many ways seemed so full of promise, made to pass away and be forgotten. Even the free trade between the countries, which had been an undeniable blessing, was completely, though indirectly, lost. The Navigation Act of 1660, passed by the English Convention Parliament, providing that no goods or commodities should be taken from England in any but English, Irish, or Welsh vessels, or in those of Berwick-on-Tweed, and that none should be brought in except in English vessels or in those of the places where the goods were produced, evidently left out

Scotland, which could use none of her vessels in English trade. There were also duties on all *foreign* imports into England, and as Scotland was regarded as foreign after the Restoration nearly all her products were taxed for the benefit of England.

Thus from the moment of the Restoration England and Scotland began to hamper and counter-work one another in the great process of exchanging goods. Scotland, as energetic as England, and perhaps as commercial in genius, was thrown entirely on her own scanty resources and left to dreams of expansion which could not be realised.

And what of the Scottish Church after the Restoration? We must remember what was its state before. Ever since Episcopacy was overthrown in 1638 Presbyterianism had been the only religion acknowledged by the law. Its doctrines were those Calvinistic ones settled by the Westminster Assembly of Divines; its worship was according to the Directory of Public Worship, also adopted by that assembly. As its name bears, that directory consisted of *directions* to ministers as to how they should conduct their services, and not, like the Anglican prayer-book, of commands which must be obeyed and prayers which must be recited. It really had not much influence over the Scots, who were coming to believe that it was better for the minister to pray on behalf of the congregation in his own words and to regulate the service according to his own judgment. We must never forget that there were two parties among the Presbyterians: one, generally known as Remonstrants, or Protesters, of whom Samuel Rutherford, the good minister of Anwoth on the Solway, may be taken as a specimen; and the other, often called "Resolutioners," to which Baillie belonged. The Remonstrants were inspired by the wild Whiggamores, or Whigs, of the south-western Lowlands; while behind the Resolutioners were the common-sense, the comparative moderation, and the shrewd worldly wisdom of Presbyterianism. Would the Resolutioners, with

their tact and moderation, be able to keep Presbyterianism as the established religion of Scotland after the Restoration?

The nobles who governed the country were the great difficulty. For example, Glencairn and Middleton had always liked Episcopacy; Rothes had no religion of any kind; John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale, the most important of them all, had been a member of the Westminster Assembly, and still called himself a Presbyterian, but he had a way of speaking of his old zeal as "rebellion." None of these men was made of the same stuff as the old men of the Covenant.

In the summer of 1660 the most interesting of the Resolutioner Presbyterians was James Sharp, minister of Crail, a parish on the coast of Fife, where the shore of the Firth of Forth begins to trend northwards towards St Andrews Bay. He had been a prominent man for a long time. He was in London when Charles II. landed, and he stayed on a long time, watching, reporting, and scheming. He became accustomed to the look of the restored Anglicanism in England. "I see generally the cassock men appearing everywhere boldly," he wrote. When he got back to Scotland there was no more Presbyterianism in his heart.

The Parliament of 1661 took Church matters in hand. The Act Rescissory, of course, *disestablished* Presbyterianism to begin with. Then the Estates passed an Act, which asserted that the king would settle the government of the Church. After the Estates had separated, Episcopacy was restored by royal proclamation, immediately followed by the actual consecration of bishops. Like his grandfather, the king had decided that Episcopacy agreed best with monarchy.

Sharp was one of the new bishops. There were three others, of whom Robert Leighton, the bishop of Dunblane, is the best known.

In January 1662 the Privy Council went a step further,

and proclaimed His Majesty's will and pleasure that all Presbyterian courts, from kirk sessions to General Assemblies, should be discharged until they had got authority from the archbishops and bishops. Then in May Parliament confirmed what had been done by king and council. Thus within two years of the Restoration Presbyterianism in Scotland ceased to exist. That was what came of Sharp's comings and goings, of Resolutioner moderation, of Scottish loyalty to the Stewarts. Scotland, it seemed, much more than England, was allowing herself to be unmade. We have now to see what came of this policy in the rest of the reign of Charles II.

The two most powerful men in Scotland were the Earl of Middleton and the Earl of Lauderdale. First, there was a great struggle for power between them. Middleton was a thorough Royalist and cavalier, and in London was thought a much safer ruler for Scotland than Lauderdale, who was wary and subtle, and had at one time been an enthusiast for the Covenants. It was Middleton's influence which led to the immediate setting up of Episcopacy in Scotland. On the other hand, Charles II. was fond of Lauderdale, who had gay social qualities, which recommended him to the king. As Lord High Commissioner he lived mainly in London; and in 1662 Middleton tried to get him shut out from public life by the Estates as an untrustworthy person. Lauderdale, however, successfully retorted on Middleton, and it was he and not Lauderdale who eventually passed out of public life. He was ousted from his various offices one after another, and Lauderdale had things pretty much his own way thenceforward. Whether Middleton or Lauderdale held the reins the policy was much the same. The Episcopal Church now established in Scotland was made as intolerant as the Anglican Church was made in England. Thus, for example (1) in 1662 an Act of the Estates compelled all ministers of state, judges, members of

Parliament, magistrates, and persons in authority to make a declaration against the Covenants. (2) About 350 ministers were driven into Nonconformity by being obliged to have bishops to put them into their parishes against their conscience. (3) Attendance at parish church was compelled under large penalties. (4) In 1664 a Court of High Commission was set up to put the ecclesiastical laws in force. It was to summon before it ". . . all who hear and say Mass . . . all keepers of conventicles . . . all who preach in private houses or elsewhere . . . without licence from the bishop," etc.

At all this Lauderdale at least connived. Yet even as staunch a Presbyterian as Baillie never ceased to believe that this persecuting Prelatist was a Presbyterian at heart, even though he had (being forced to do it) forsworn the Covenants and said to the king. "If any shall hereafter slander me as an opposer of bishops they must at the same time declare me a very fool."

In civil matters Lauderdale had the Privy Council to help him and the weakness of the Scottish Parliament. Weak as Parliament was, he proposed to get rid of it altogether and govern through the Privy Council alone. Even without that there was no check on royal power. The king had at this time the full sympathy of the nobles and bishops; he could get members of shires and burghs chosen who would not gainsay him; above all, through his right of originating the proposals of the Lords of the Articles, he could control the entire legislation of the Parliament.

How long would the Scottish nation bear all this, which suited so ill with its history since the Reformation?

For a time all resistance seemed crushed. The Scottish merchants, indeed, began to feel the effect of the Navigation Act on their prosperity; they complained of the loss of their free trade with England, and said they were worse off than Ireland. Between 1667 and 1670 two

commissions were set up to try and bring about an incorporation, but their efforts came to nothing. The Scottish petitioners were told that an independent nationality ought to maintain itself out of its own produce, and also that the English colonies were English, and that Scotsmen could not hope to reap any of the benefits from their possession.

At last, however, opposition of the most serious kind broke out, and, as we might naturally expect, it was religious and Presbyterian.

In order to enforce the laws against Nonconformists the Government sent parties of soldiers to back up the civil authorities. A certain Sir James Turner was sent into the south-west, that formidable region of Protesters and Whigs, and his actions were not only harsh but often illegal. Rebellion began in November 1666 in the wild uplands of Galloway. The insurgents seized Turner at Dumfries; the rebellion grew, spread north-eastwards, and threatened Edinburgh. However, the insurgents were too bold. Before reaching Edinburgh they stopped short, and were pretty easily routed and dispersed by Government troops under General Dalziel, a rough and fierce soldier who had learned war in Russia, among other places, and was spoken of as "a Muscovy beast who roasted men." This encounter is called sometimes the battle of the Pentlands; sometimes the battle of Rullion Green.

This rising of the western Covenanters, then, was a failure, and, indeed, it made their lot much harder than it had been before. The Government forces were increased and put under the command of Dalziel, and torture of the feet by the "boot," and later of the hands by the thumbscrew, was adopted by the executive. A separate court was set up in the centre of disaffection, and accused persons were generally found guilty by it and condemned in their absence, and without having said a word in their defence.

It was only the south-west which needed (from the

Government's point of view) this policy of force and terror. Scotland, as a whole, was not Remonstrant and rebellious; it was Resolutioner and inclined to submission; in fact, very much of Lauderdale's own way of thinking. Therefore the Government thought it might safely "indulge," as they called it, the Presbyterians who were inclined to conform. From 1669 onwards royal indulgences were issued from time to time, which allowed the Scottish Privy Council to appoint to their old parishes as many of the ministers expelled under the Act of 1662 as were living "peaceably and orderly." For those who were judged not to have so lived a Conventicle Act was provided soon after, which awarded the penalty of death to all who held a *conventicle*—*i.e.* a meeting for religious worship in a house or a field—without licence. It was attempted to hold down the Covenanters by making them enter into securities to keep the peace—"bonds of law-burrows," as they were called. Those bonds were artfully framed, so as to contain no reference to keeping the Covenant or obeying the bishops.

The effect of the policy of indulgence was to make the disaffection of the Covenanters keener. Indeed, they hated the indulged ministers almost as much as the bishops or the soldiers. Conventicles of the forbidden sort became more and more frequent, and the landowners (bound to enforce the law) found it more and more difficult to keep them under.

And now a new element comes into view. For a long time we have had to think very little about the Highlands and their inhabitants—the wild mountaineers shut in behind the Grampian screen. Henceforward, up to the very end of our story, we shall hear a great deal about them, and shall be made to feel how different and how separate in many very important respects they had become from the other inhabitants of the land. In the seventeenth century the Celtic Highlanders were regarded by their Lowland neighbours as not much better than a scourge—a race

who could be tolerated only if they were completely repressed.

Yet it was from the ranks of the hated Highlanders that Lauderdale now decided to draw a force to help him to govern the disaffected parts of the Lowlands and Southern Uplands. A commission was sent out to the chiefs of clans in the end of 1677; the "Highland host," thus summoned, was ordered to supplement the ordinary militia; it was to work in a large district, of which the heart was the counties of Ayr and Renfrew; and it was armed with powers which would be dangerous in the hands of the most civilised and merciful soldiery in the world. It was to reduce the rebellious conventicle holders to due obedience; to take free quarters from the disaffected at pleasure; to disarm such persons and take away their houses. For all such labours in the public service, and for killing, wounding, apprehending, and imprisoning, the soldiers were indemnified against all suits, civil and criminal.

Early in 1678 the Highland host assembled at Stirling to the number of about 7000 and spread itself over the scene of its operations. With the regular militia behind it it was too strong to be resisted in arms, and when the Highlanders swept back to their fastnesses in the mountains and the islands they went like enriched plunderers, leaving behind them in the Lowlands (*i.e.* in progressive Scotland) a wider alienation and a firmer purpose of revenge.

Revenge found its first notable victim in James Sharp, whom we got to know first as Presbyterian minister of Crail and then as Archbishop of St Andrews. Ever since 1661 Sharp had been very prominent in the Government of Scotland. He was, indeed, its visible and constant agent; generally the president of the Privy Council; powerful in Parliament through the Lords of the Articles. The extensiveness of Sharp's powers led to his being much disliked by Scottish civil servants generally; whilst by all that was Presbyterian he was regarded as the arch-traitor, the Judas

of the time. The dislike of Sharp in some quarters was a kind of superstitious horror; it was believed that he stood at the top of his staircase at St Andrews when he was known to be sitting in the Privy Council at Edinburgh; and that the Evil One had been closeted with him at midnight. In 1668 he had been shot at and missed in the streets of Edinburgh. On the 3rd of May 1679 the assassins were successful; the archbishop was dragged from his coach and brutally murdered at Magus Muir, near St Andrews. The murderers were a group of Covenanters led by one Hackston of Rathillet, in Fifeshire, and including that John Balfour "of Burley" whose gloomy figure stalks through Scott's *Old Mortality*. Balfour told the dying archbishop that he suffered because he had been the murderer of many a poor soul in the Kirk of Scotland.

After such a deed there could be no hope of any kind of peace. Sharp's murderers joined the Remonstrants in the south-west, and found them ready to rise. Illegal field conventicles were being freely held among the Southern Uplands, and the Government was bestirring itself. The worshippers came armed to the meetings, and it was only soldiers who could deal with them. The chief officer in the most disaffected district was John Graham of Claverhouse, a kinsman of that Marquis of Montrose who was so famous in the Great Civil War. Claverhouse was appointed to a troop of life-guards in 1678. A great conventicle was advertised to be held in June 1679, near a place called Drumclog, on the border of Lanark and Ayr shires. In the little town of Rutherglen, close by, bonfires were burning to commemorate the Restoration. The Covenanters extinguished the bonfires, and then burned many Acts of Parliament in a fire which they lighted themselves. As soon as the conventicle had assembled Claverhouse and his troopers advanced to disperse it, whereupon the Covenanters, reinforced by the little band of Sharp's murderers, rushed upon the intruders with such force that they were

totally routed. Claverhouse just succeeded in saving the standards. Such was the fight of Drumclog.

The insurgent army rapidly grew to about 5000, and moved about threateningly in the neighbourhood of Glasgow. There was an alarm in London, and a force of 15,000 men was raised and put under the Duke of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles II., who appears in English history as the Whig and Protestant candidate for the succession to his father. Monmouth had married into the family of the Scotts of Buccleuch, and was, therefore, on the whole, popular in Scotland. Even if the Covenanters had been as united as they were fanatical and brave they could hardly have done much against such a force. There were, however, divided counsels in their ranks, and they had a wild and hardly sane fanatic for their leader, one Robert Hamilton, who had never even fought in arms before. Such as they were the Covenanters were on the Clyde near Bothwell Bridge, in Lanarkshire, when they heard that Monmouth's army was close at hand. There was nothing for it but to compose their differences, at least for a time. First they tried to treat, making the usual demands—free religion, a free Parliament, a free General Assembly. Monmouth said they must first lay down their arms, but they elected to fight instead. As was inevitable, their defeat was total: 1200 prisoners were taken to Edinburgh, of whom only seven were put to death. The rest were penned up like sheep in Greyfriars Churchyard. This was the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and the day was the 22nd of June 1679. Of this fight, as of that of Drumclog, we read in *Old Mortality*.

If the English Government had any wish at all for peace in Scotland they now took a strange way to bring it about. They sent James, Duke of York, Charles II.'s brother, to Scotland as a Privy Councillor. James was an avowed Roman Catholic, and while Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge were being fought in Scotland England was violently ex-

cited over the Exclusion Bill, which was to bar his succession to the English throne on account of his religion. It was strange that the two successive emissaries to Scotland were nephew and uncle, who were rivals for the succession to the English and Scottish crowns.

The Duke of York's presence in Scotland brought a new element into the difficulties of the situation there, namely, the dread of Popery and of a Popish succession: in other words, it introduced the English difficulties into Scotland. James arrived in December 1679. After a time he went back to England, returning as Lord High Commissioner for the Parliament of 1681. In some ways his visits seem to have pleased the Scots. He brought his wife with him, and the lustre of living royalty shone once more at Holyrood and Edinburgh. James was sociable and affable; he made the nobles forget the pressure of Lauderdale's iron heel; and when he went the Privy Council reported to the king that "the most malicious had abstained from all rebellious risings and undutiful speeches, . . . and that this short time has been the most peaceable and serene part of our life, and the happiest days we ever saw, except Your Majesty's miraculous restoration."

The Privy Council, however, was one thing and the Scottish people was another. Bothwell Bridge had by no means crushed the Covenanters. If the area of fighting Presbyterianism was much smaller than it had been, the flame of it burned all the hotter. In June 1680 two zealous ministers, Donald Cargill and Richard Cameron, marched into the hill town of Sanquhar, in Dumfriesshire with about twenty armed men in their company, and nailed up in the market-place a "Declaration" of formidable import. The mocking illusion of a Covenanted Stewart king, which the Presbyterians of thirty years earlier had dangled before their eyes, had no remnant of charm for these disenchanted hill men. They traced all Scotland's troubles to her having failed to disown Charles Stewart for "his perjury and

usurpation in Church matters and tyranny in matters civil." The declaration proceeded to supply the deficiency. Its authors, calling themselves "the representatives of the true Presbyterian Kirk and Covenanted nation of Scotland," disowned Charles as having "forfeited" the Scottish crown by his "perjury and breach of Covenant," and (they went on), "we being under the standard of our Lord Jesus Christ, Captain of salvation, do declare a war with such a tyrant and usurper." The king thus disposed of, the Declaration turned to the Commissioner. "We disown, and by this resent, the reception of the Duke of York, that professed Papist." The performance at Sanquhar was quickly followed by a solemn ceremonial in the neighbourhood of Stirling. After a religious service Cargill solemnly excommunicated Charles Stewart and the Duke of York. This zealous band of Sanquhar and Stirling, more Covenanting than the Covenanters, more Presbyterian than the Presbyterians, more Remonstrant than the Remonstrants, was the germ of the future sect of the Cameronians who, known afterwards as the Reformed Presbyterian Church, joined the Free Church of Scotland in 1873.

But how did the rest of the Scottish nation feel and act at this critical time?

The most important magnate was the Earl of Argyll, whose territories lay in the old kingdom of Dalriada. He was the son of the great Presbyterian leader who suffered for his steadfastness—such as it was—just after the Restoration. What line would he, for example, take on the burning question of the succession to the throne, and what line would the Estates take under his leading? The Parliament of 1681 made a declaration, at the foot of which the chief name was Argyll's. There could be no doubt as to its meaning. It was said to be unlawful for subjects to enter into leagues or covenants; that the National Covenant of 1638 and the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 were in themselves unlawful oaths, and that no

obligation of obedience to them lay on the Scotsmen of that time. The Parliament, therefore, repudiated the covenants.

As to the succession, two Acts were passed. (1) A Succession Act declared that the succession to the crown was by proximity in blood, which could not be set aside by any Act or Statute, and that no difference of religion could divert the right of succession. (2) A Test Act imposed on the holders of any office under Government or in a corporation, and on every soldier in the army, a new test, by which he was to profess adherence to the true Protestant religion contained in the Confession of Faith received in the first Parliament of James VI., to abjure all Papist or fanatic divergence from the said Protestant religion, and to swear that the king was the only supreme governor in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil. Now it is evident that these two Acts between them decided that James would be king of Scotland in spite of his religion, and that, once he was king, Scottish religion would be at his mercy.

Protestantism was dear to the heart of Argyll, and he discussed the policy of the Acts freely. At last he brought himself to take the Test, "so far as it is consistent with itself and the Protestant religion." Little as these words really came to, they turned both James and the Estates against Argyll. He was prosecuted on a charge of "leasing-making" (lying)—*i.e.* poisoning the minds of the people against the sovereign and the legislature by accusing them of passing inconsistent laws. After a long trial he was found guilty; and, while sentence was deferred, he escaped to Holland.

James' succession having been thus secured in Scotland the centre of opposition was shifted to England, where the Rye House Plot was discovered in 1687. Alike in both countries it was known that Argyll in Holland was planning resistance; but in Scotland it was the Cameronians who did the chief work of opposition. In

1684 they issued an Apologetic Declaration, in which they threatened punishment to all "enemies of God and the Covenanted work of Reformation." The enemies were plainly pointed out: they were militiamen, malicious troopers, dragoons; viperous and malicious bishops and curates. The punishment threatened was not described. Still, it had a formidable sound, and the Government, remembering the murder of Sharp and other instances of Covenanting "punishment," was justified in taking alarm. Unfortunately, it did not realise that it was strong enough to be careful without cruelty. After consulting the judges of the Court of Session the Privy Council decided to treat the Apologetic Declaration as treasonable and to put to death, in the presence of two witnesses, all who would not disown the Declaration upon oath. A commission was also sent into the south-west, with power to administer an oath of abjuration. If this oath were not instantly taken a jury of fifteen was to be summoned without delay, who should convict and sentence on the spot.

Claverhouse was the chief agent in carrying out the will of the Government. How he did it has been often told. How men were chased over the moors; offered the Oath of Abjuration and then shot with bullets which they had provided for their defence; how some were made to swear by having their means of livelihood seized and their wives and children starved; how others who would not swear were hung or drowned. All such things are hateful to us because we have at last learned not to injure those who think and believe differently from ourselves; but in those days even the best people still thought that only one way of thinking and believing about God, and one sort of worship of Him, could be allowed in a state.

King Charles II. died in February 1685. The event so much dreaded both in Scotland and in England had come to pass, and a papist king was on the throne. In both countries there was rebellion, and in both countries

rebellion failed. In England the Duke of Monmouth rebelled, in Scotland the Earl of Argyll. Argyll had found exiles in Holland ready to join him in plotting. A large sum of money was raised, and the conspirators reckoned on Celtic and Cameronian support in Scotland. But Scotland was much less ready to rise than Argyll knew, and he was not a great leader of men. With one or two ships behind him he landed on the island outskirts of his dominions in May 1685. His Celtic dependents would not rise in any numbers, and he was counter-worked by other Celtic chieftains, such as the Marquis of Atholl, who were loyal to the Government. The chief companion of Argyll's enterprise was Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth. Between them they never seem to have succeeded in bringing together 1000 men. Before they reached the Lowlands on their eastward march Argyll was seized, quietly taken to Edinburgh, and as quietly executed on the verdict of three years before, from which he had fled to Holland. Hume of Polwarth escaped. So ended the flash in the pan known as "Argyll's Rising." On the 6th of July Monmouth's rebellion was brought to an end at Sedgmoor.

The Estates met in April, and passed an Act condemning to death all who should *attend*, as well as all who should *hold*, "fanatical conventicles"—in other words, services different from those of the Established Episcopal Church. They then reimposed the Test, whereupon King James sent a message boldly asking legal protection for Roman Catholic dissenters. To this the Estates were too Protestant to agree. The king, therefore, fell back on what he deemed to be his prerogative powers of making laws in council, and issued an ordinance *dispensing* his Roman Catholic subjects from the effects of the laws against them. He gave orders that the chapel at Holyrood should be fitted up for Roman Catholic worship.

Though James was willing that Presbyterians should

be tolerated if Roman Catholics also had toleration, the extreme Presbyterians took a very different view of the claim of their religion. Therefore between 1685 and 1688 there was free scope for carrying out the provisions of the Test and Conventicle Acts under the direction of Claverhouse and his dragoons. Persecution raged in the unhappy land. People were shot, mutilated, transported; the time was called "the killing time."

In May 1688 King James granted an indulgence to the Presbyterians to meet and worship in private. This gave partial satisfaction, though it was realised that the price of the toleration was the acknowledgment of a Roman Catholic sovereign and of the legality of his arbitrary acts.

While the newly-released Presbyterianism was feeling its way back into life both Scotland and England were alarmed by the news of the birth of a son to King James and his second wife, Mary of Modena. This child (as we know from English history) was by almost everybody falsely believed to be someone else's child imposed upon the public. However that might be, the child if it grew up would be, in all likelihood, a Roman Catholic king, and the prospect of that, combined with all James II.'s arbitrary and illegal behaviour, led English parties to unite in inviting William of Orange, the king's nephew and son-in-law, to come over from Holland and defend the liberties of England.

In this daring move many Scotsmen were willing to join. But, while England was practically unanimous in sending the invitation, Scotland was still lacking in national unity, and for eighteen years what was practically a civil war of religion had been either raging or smouldering there. Hence it was for England to carry out the Revolution smoothly and for Scotland to imitate the example, if it had strength to do so without being ruined in the process.

This is what actually happened, though it cannot be said that Scotland was lagging in her movements. William of Orange arrived in London, and James II. left England, before Christmas 1688. Early in January 1689 leading Scotsmen were at Whitehall negotiating with William. First it was proposed to ask William to invite James to return to Scotland and call a free Parliament, but this proposal found no seconder. Then came a dignified invitation to William to administer Scottish affairs temporarily until the Scottish Estates should meet and make a settlement. To this William agreed, and summonses were sent out to the nobles and bishops, as well as orders to the election clerks of the Commons.

Two questions present themselves here: (1) Was vigorous Parliamentary action of any kind to be looked for in misgoverned and distracted Scotland? (2) Would such action be on the side of the Revolution?

The Estates met on 14th March 1689, while the Duke of Gordon occupied Edinburgh Castle for James. Claverhouse, of course, and many men like-minded, sat in the Convention of the Estates, but the supporters of the Revolution were in a large majority. We may distinguish three stages in what they did:

(1) On 4th April they voted that James had by misgovernment forfeited the crown, and that the throne was therefore vacant.

(2) On 11th April a Claim of Right was adopted, and the Scottish crown was offered to William and Mary, who were now king and queen of England. The Claim of Right drew out in detail the reasons for which James had been declared to have forfeited the crown. It involved the assertion that the Scottish Estates had the right to give away the Scottish crown. It was declared that every future wearer of the crown, and every civil servant, must be a Protestant. As to the succession, it was laid down that of William and Mary the longer liver was to

succeed; then the children of Mary; then her sister Anne and her children; lastly the heirs of William.

(3) On 13th April Articles of Grievances were drawn up. They enumerated abuses which ought to be abolished by law. Most of the laws made in the Parliament of 1685 were said to be "impious and intolerable grievances," and the king's headship of the Church was objected to. In other respects the Articles were much like the English Declaration of Right.

The Claim of Right was presented to King William along with the offer of the crown; the Articles of Grievances were brought forward later. William and Mary accepted the crown with all respect, and William took an oath to be a good and not a bad king, to profess the true and not a false religion, to govern according to the Word of God and the ordinances of the true Church, "and to be careful to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God that shall be convicted of the true Kirk of God of the foresaid crimes, out of our lands and empire of Scotland." Against this last condition William protested because of its intolerance, but was induced to accept it as a mere formality. The oaths having been duly taken by the king and queen William assured the Scottish Estates that everything which he and his queen could do both to protect them and to ameliorate their condition should be done. The convention then became a regular Parliament.

Was there opposition in Scotland to the Revolution? Not much, we have seen, in Parliament. On the whole, the change made its way in Scotland very much as it did in England—by progressively satisfying the nation that it was on the whole the best way out of a great difficulty and danger. Yet there were in Scotland two great risks for the Revolution—(1) the existence of the remnant of the late Government forces led by Claverhouse (now Viscount Dundee—the "Bonnie Dundee" of Scott's popular

song); (2) the uncertain and dangerous temper of Celtic Scotland. Singly, the dangers were great; united, they would be greater. The chief risk was that Dundee would do what Montrose had done in 1644, what Charles Stewart had very nearly done in 1651, and what Lauderdale had done in 1678—*viz.* throw himself on Celtic aid and bring troops of Highlanders to overpower the Lowlands. This, as we shall see, was what actually happened. The first task of the new Government, it soon appeared, was to secure the Highlands.

We remember that Edinburgh Castle was in the hands of the enemy while the convention was sitting in the Parliament House. A Scottish force, which had long served the Prince of Orange in Holland, and which was commanded by a certain Hugh Mackay, a Celt of Sutherlandshire, was sent to protect the convention. Commissions were issued to leading magnates to muster a militia as quickly as possible in the shires, while the Cameronians, the victors of Drumclog, were enrolled as a permanent regiment. Edinburgh Castle yielded in June 1689. During most of the spring Dundee had been living near the town which gave him his name, in active correspondence with the chiefs of the Highlands. Then he pierced the Grampians to meet the clans whose help he had sought. Mackay tried to counter-work him; but though he was a Celt he could do little. The most eminent commander-in-chief had, as such, no influence among the clans; each clan could take its inspiration and its orders from its own chief only; and all that could be done by an outsider, whether Celtic or Teutonic, was to fire or bribe the chiefs one by one. In this work Dundee had got before Mackay. Mackay could do little but get Lowland recruits as he went north and try to enlist the enthusiasm of Lowland magnates. By the time he had got to Aberdeenshire he had barely 1000 men. Dundee was in front of him, doubling like a hare,

while the wildfire of his influence was working among the fierce tribes. Mackay toiled on with his Aberdeenshire ploughmen and the rest. Dundee let him take Inverness, and returned to his zigzag movements among the mountains. From Inverness Mackay started to go to Edinburgh to warn the Government to build central fortresses to keep the Highlanders back. In July Dundee was in high spirits; his plan was succeeding to a wish; the Highlands were secured for Jacobitism (as we may now call the creed of those who held to the old Government); and with the help of Irish troops on the west coast and French troops on the east the whole of Scotland might soon be won back to her rightful allegiance. Dundee only wanted to make sure of the loyalty of the Marquis of Atholl, whose territories lay in the north of Perthshire, at the gates of the Highland hills. He felt that he must be in possession of Blair Castle, then, as now, the stronghold of the Atholl family; and Mackay equally felt that so important a fortress ought to be secured for the new Government. Mackay, accordingly, turned northwards again from Perth, this time with a force of about 4000. But, as usual, Dundee had been too nimble for him, and had garrisoned Blair, after suborning the steward of the absent marquis. Mackay, nevertheless, pressed on past Dunkeld, until he reached the fatal Pass of Killiecrankie, just south of Blair. Here his force of Scots and Dutch were hemmed in, while the Highlanders swarmed down from above. The result was the rout of Mackay's army—at the price, however, of the death of Dundee early in the action.

Formidable as the resistance of the Highlands really was, the death of Claverhouse broke its power. It was his intrigues that had banded the clans together, and the rapidity of his movements that had kept them banded. They had no self-supporting, self-sufficing principle to keep up their enthusiasm, and when their brilliant leader had gone their resistance slowly but surely collapsed.

Then came Mackay's opportunity. He got the services of the Cameronians, who pierced the hills in their turn, inspired by an enthusiasm which had already often done deadly work, and would do it again. Mackay with their aid took and held Dunkeld in August; the Highlanders retired northwards, and the rebellion was at an end. Mackay took Blair Castle and founded Fort William, in pursuance of his design—to guard the midlands. Then the Government began to win over the Highlands, chiefly by bribery. The most successful kind of bribery was the clever plan of raising for the new Government a paid Highland force. Through the agency of Lord Breadalbane a capital sum of about £20,000 was made a fund, out of which loyal chiefs might be subsidised. Loyalty was to be secured by making each chief take the Oath of Allegiance to King William before a fixed date—*viz.* 31st December 1691. Whosoever had not made his submission by that day was to suffer a rebel's fate. When the day came all had submitted except Macdonald of Glencoe. Macdonald proudly delayed submission till the last moment, and then presented himself to the wrong person. On the advice of the Master of Stair he was "made an example of" by the Government. On the 13th of February 1692, early in the morning, the clansmen were set upon by the soldiers who had been quartered in Glencoe for days and pretended to be friendly. The whole clan was murdered, except a few who managed to escape to the mountains, most of them to perish of cold and hunger.

Fortunately, Stair got no backing from William or the Government. Indeed, the Massacre of Glencoe lives in history chiefly because it shows that the old unjust hatred of the Lowlander for the Highlander was dying out. For all that was best in Scotland shuddered at and disavowed this deed.

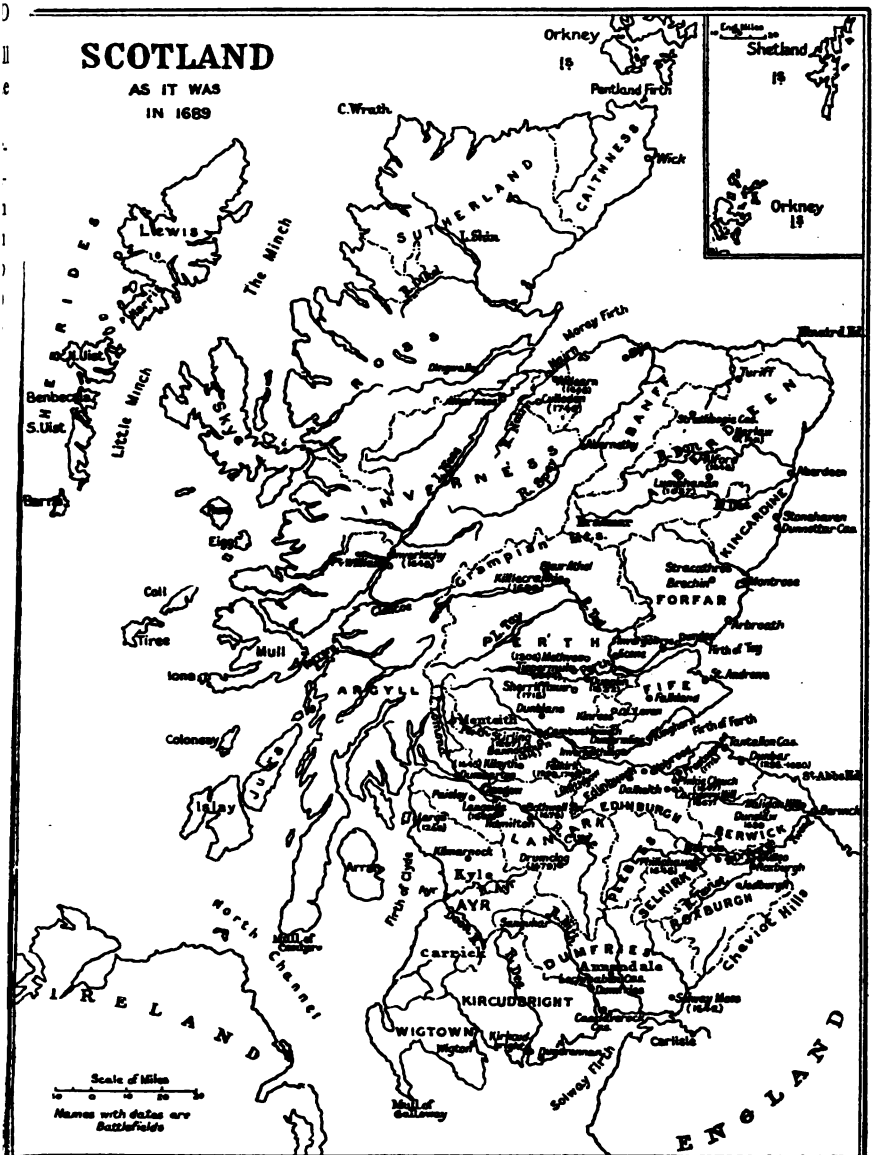
And now we must bring this chapter to an end by showing how the Scottish constitution in the State and

the Church was affected by the Revolution. As we shall find, the most important and lasting changes were made in the Church.

We shall help ourselves a good deal towards understanding what the changes were by comparing and contrasting Scotland with England. In England the Revolution was a change of dynasty, and it was little more. A system of Parliamentary rule had in England been growing up for ages, and this system was strengthened, and in no sense created, by the Revolution. Again, in England the constitutional arrangements as we now know them—except the cabinet system—were in full operation at the Revolution, and the chief reason for calling in William of Orange was that they might be restored to efficiency. Once more in England the National Church, bearing at once the stamp of the Middle Age and that of the Reformation, had at the Revolution a position of assured and unassailed strength.

In Scotland, on the other hand, the Revolution was a revolution indeed. Scotland, as we have so often had to remind ourselves, had missed both the social unity and the constitutional strength which had been reached by her neighbour. Her Parliament was without a House of Commons of the English kind; it was spoiled by the action of committees; it had no self-confidence. Above all, as regards ecclesiastical matters Scotland had missed the decision and continuity which had on the whole marked English Church history since the Reformation. She had been tossed between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy, and though her heart had remained Presbyterian the temperature and vigour of her Presbyterianism had varied greatly from time to time. So, all things considered, the Revolution in Scotland meant a reconstruction in State and Church. What sort of reconstruction was it?

First of all, what sort of men had King William to


SCOTLAND
AS IT WAS
IN 1689
Orkney Is
Pentland Firth
C. Wrath
Wick
CAITHNESS
SUTHERLAND
L. Shin
Shetland Is
Orkney Is
Lewis
The Minch
Little Minch
Skye
Benbecula
S. Uist
Barra
Eigg
Coll
Tiree
Mull
Iona
Colonsay
Islay
Jura
Arran
Firth of Clyde
North Channel
Mull of Cantyre
Mull of Galloway
IRELAND
ENGLAND
Solway Firth
Carlisle
Cheviot Hills
Kyle
AYR
Carrick
KIRCUDBRIGHT
WIGTOWN
Wigton
Kirkcudbright
Annandale
DUMFRIES
Dumfries
Solway Moss
Kilmarnock
Drumclog
Hamilton
Paisley
Lanark
Edinburgh
Dalkeith
Dunbar
Tantallon Cas.
Firth of Forth
Dunfermline
Falkland
St. Andrews
Firth of Tay
Arbroath
Montrose
Stracathro
Brechin
Stonehaven
Dunnottar Cas.
Aberdeen
Turiff
Moray Firth
Nairn
Culloden
Dingwall
Ross
Inverness
Grampian Mts.
Killiecrankie
Blair Athol
Dunkeld
Perth
Sherriffmuir
Dunblane
Menteith
Stirling
Kilsyth
Kilmarnock
Ayr
Carlisle
Scale of Miles
Names with dates are Battlefields

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
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make his Scottish Government out of? The old cleft between Remonstrants and Resolutioners had by this time disappeared; the Remonstrants had grown into the fiercer Cameronians; the Resolutioners had merged in the mass of the more or less compromising Presbyterians who had accepted James' indulgences and carried on the common-sense tradition of Baillie. On the whole, it was with individuals and their jealousies rather than parties and their principles that the new Government had most difficulty. The chief men entitled by birth to high office were the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Crawford, and the Earl of Melville. Hamilton had little principle, but he was not a rascal. He was made Lord High Commissioner in the Parliament. Crawford, a Presbyterian of the more extreme sort, was President of the Convention. Melville was Secretary of State. He had been mixed up in Argyll's Rising, and was a fairly steady-going Presbyterian.

But by far the most influential and interesting personality of the time was the Rev. William Carstairs. He is the best specimen of Scottish Presbyterian sagacity, sincerity, and ability; he was a Baillie without Baillie's illusions; a Sharp without Sharp's selfishness and treachery. The son of a Remonstrant minister, he was taken prisoner at the battle of Dunbar, and was on the field at Rullion Green in 1666. Shortly after, while studying at Utrecht, in Holland, he was introduced to William of Orange, and the introduction turned out a memorable one. He returned to Scotland under Lauderdale's suspicion, and was kept in gaol by him for about four years. After his release Carstairs returned to Holland, and henceforward he was to William of Orange very much what Lauderdale was to Charles II. He was William's chaplain before he came to England, and in that capacity he gave thanks on the shore at Torbay after the landing was accomplished. People called him "Cardinal Carstairs" because of his weight in secular affairs. William and he managed the

Scottish Revolution settlement between them, the chief share being that of Carstairs.

The principal legal adviser of the king in Scottish affairs was Sir James Dalrymple, Lord Stair, the Lord President of the Court of Session. He was to Scots law what Justinian was to Roman law and Coke to the common law of England. But he was a great statesman as well as a great lawyer. In spite of his apparently steadfast Presbyterianism he was able to keep high office both under the Commonwealth and the Government of Charles II. and Lauderdale. With his lordly intelligence, his grasp of principles, and his idea of law as a barrier against the arbitrary rule of kings, Stair must be considered one of the master-builders of Scottish civilisation.

These men were the working part of the new Scottish Privy Council. There were jealousies among them, and the chief danger of the situation lay in the fact that personal feuds were so apt to help on Jacobite schemes.

The chief reconstructive measures were passed by the Estates in 1689 and 1690. The main thing was to reconstruct, or rather to construct, Parliament itself. As soon as the Estates met in 1689 they seemed bent on reforming themselves vigorously. They seemed at the point where the English Parliament had often been between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Scottish Parliament wanted, before all things, freedom of debate. Its leading feature hitherto had been the Lords of the Articles, the great committee who prepared business for the Estates, and who had, therefore, the reality of the power which the Parliament nominally possessed. The Lords of the Articles were inconsistent with any real freedom of debate, and against them, therefore, the Parliament declared at once. They objected to them for two reasons—(1) they were for the most part nominees of the Crown; (2) they were permanent during

the existence of the Parliament. There was much negotiating between the Estates and the king on the subject, and many complicated proposals were made, with which we need not concern ourselves in this chapter. The Estates wished to abolish the Lords of the Articles altogether; the king wished to retain them, but to give the Estates much more power in their choice. Nothing was settled in 1689, but in 1690 the Lords of the Articles, as they had hitherto been, were abolished, and in their place committees were appointed to consider particular measures — the three Estates being equally represented on every committee. The ministers were to have the right to attend meetings of committees, but not to vote.

The reconstruction of the Church is more important than that of the State; because, while the Parliamentary settlement was, within less than twenty years, superseded by the incorporating Union of 1707, the ecclesiastical settlement ended finally the struggles of more than a hundred years, and the institutions set up under it subsist with some small changes at the present day.

The first matter to be settled was the old one concerning Episcopacy; and the Scots set themselves to make good the declaration against bishops which formed part of their Claim of Right, and to organise the Church on a base of ministerial equality.

We must always remember that at this time (1) the Established Church was Episcopalian; (2) that there was much Episcopalian conviction in the north-eastern Teutonic country, between the Firth of Tay and the Moray Firth; (3) that while an absolute majority of the inhabitants of Scotland would have been found to be Presbyterian their Presbyterianism was of an accommodating kind, which could adapt itself to statecraft and lend itself to compromise. Such Presbyterianism seemed to the Cameronians almost as much an apostacy as Prelacy itself; but it was the creed of Melville and Carstairs; of the greater part of the con-

vention and Parliament of 1689; and it was the kind of Presbyterianism favoured by King William himself.

The Estates in 1689 quickly set to work against the bishops. There was great difficulty, for one thing, in supporting a hierarchy from the scanty resources of Scotland. Another objection to Episcopacy in Scotland was the increasing Jacobitism among the bishops and the Episcopalian clergy generally. Therefore it is not surprising that in July 1689 an Act was passed abolishing Prelacy and superiority of office in the Church. The organisation of the non-Episcopal Church was to be settled in the way most agreeable to the inclinations of the Scottish people. In the same year the Government even proposed to restore the Act of 1592, by which, we remember, Presbyterianism was established in Scotland; but the Estates would not assent.

So when Parliament met in 1690 no form of Church government was "established" in the proper sense of the word. By royal licence, however, the apparatus of kirk-sessions, presbyteries, and synods was suffered to go on until a legalised system should be set up. The great object of Presbyterian desire was that the way might be prepared for the meeting of a General Assembly as soon as possible.

An early measure was an Act "restoring the Presbyterian ministers who were thrust from their churches since 1st January 1661 or banished for not conforming to Prelacy." Under this Act about sixty ministers were restored. This little band formed the germ of the coming General Assembly.

In June 1690 the Confession of Faith was adopted and approved by Parliament. This was another step in the direction of Presbyterianising the Church of Scotland; while by the same Act Presbyterianism was restored as in 1592.

The new Presbyterian Established Church of Scotland, however, differed much from the Church in which David

Calderwood had rejoiced. Its milder and less militant attitude was shown by the fact that the Covenants were not included among its standards.

The Government, in fact, was anxious that the Church should be without that unchecked power of the clergy which had been favoured by the early Presbyterianism of Andrew Melville. William III. wished the Scottish people to have a religion after their liking; but he knew what the tyranny of Christian ministers might be, and what it had been in the past. He was, therefore, resolved that, if he could help it, the restored Presbyterianism should not permit much clerical independence. For example, an Act of 1690 made excommunication a purely ecclesiastical punishment, so that it might not be followed by *civil* pains or penalties.

To say this is to say that, from the Covenanting and Cameronian point of view, William was an Erastian and that the reconstructed Church was an Erastian establishment.

Presbyterianism could never be considered as settled until the constitution of the General Assembly was settled. We remember how the Assembly was turned out of doors by Cromwell's soldiers in 1653. It had never met since that day. The great event of 1690 was to be the meeting of an assembly in October on what were practically the old lines. King William was fully aware that the General Assembly, being a kind of Parliament, was a danger to the state. The Lord High Commissioner was the official who represented the king's interests in the assembly. In 1690 Lord Carmichael was chosen for this post. The Assembly chose Hugh Kennedy for its Moderator, and the danger was that Commissioner and Moderator might quarrel about their respective powers. The two officials tried to act on strictly parallel lines; when the time for adjournment came the motion to adjourn was made by the Commissioner, while the Assembly itself was careful to avoid recording the fact.

The king's great object was to keep in his own hands the right of adjourning and appointing the time of the next meeting. The Assembly, regarding this as inconsistent with its freedom, would not keep any minutes of its meetings, implying thereby that they were not true meetings. In 1693 the Oath of Allegiance and a Declaration of Assurance, which acknowledged William as king of right as well as in fact, were ordered to be administered to every member of the Assembly as an indispensable condition of membership. This was offensive to Jacobites for obvious reasons, and to Presbyterians because it was Erastian. The deadlock became very serious, and was only relieved by the wise counsels of Carstairs, who persuaded William to give way. From that time the Assembly agreed that the Commissioners should act as a dual power on parallel lines, and all went smoothly.

The question of how vacancies in the Church were to be filled remained unsettled, nor had the Presbyterian Church made up its mind about *toleration*.

The right of lay patrons to present to benefices (as it exists in the Church of England now) has always been objectionable to Presbyterians, who looked on it partly as an unholy trafficking in holy things, partly as an Erastian intrusion of the civil power. Lay patronage had been restored under Charles II., and William wished to maintain it after the Church again became Presbyterian, and Carstairs agreed with him; but the wiser counsels of Melville prevailed, and in 1690 lay patronage was abolished in Scotland, as having been "greatly abused." It was not replaced, however, as it has been since by pure congregational election; the lairds of the parish and the elders of the Church were to propose a candidate, and the congregation were to approve or disapprove. If they disapproved the Presbytery were to hear their reasons and to decide. Compensation was allowed to the deprived

patrons, and if any patron were not compensated he was to retain his right. As regards the future of Episcopacy in Scotland, the king was anxious for toleration. He wished Episcopacy to give way to Presbyterianism without violence; Prelacy had been abolished, and the Calvinistic Confession of Faith had been adopted; let all those clergy who preferred the prayer-book and who would agree to the absence of bishops not only continue in their benefices but have seats in the General Assembly. The proposal that they should sit in the Assembly was brought before the Assembly of 1692. It was temperately recommended both by the king and his Commissioner, but the Assembly was in no mood even to entertain it, and it fell to the ground. Circumstances, however, favoured toleration. Episcopalian sympathies, as we have seen, were still keen in the North, and a few years after the Revolution Episcopal clergy and deposed bishops were to be found at work there. Although the Government disapproved of this and banished such persons to the south of Forth, in 1695 an Act was passed, by which Episcopalian clergy, on condition of full recognition of the civil Government, were allowed to continue in their benefices. It remained true, however, that Episcopalian meeting-houses were against the letter of the law, though they were sometimes allowed in practice.

CHAPTER XII

THE UNION. 1689-1707

AT this point a change comes upon Scottish history. Since the Reformation three things have among them chiefly regulated the fortunes of Scotland: the influence of religion and the Church, the influence of the House of Stewart, and the relations with England. Now that the Revolution had been wrought out two of these fall into the background. The absorbing interest of religion and the Church is at an end; Presbyterianism, with some toleration of Episcopacy, has won the day. The influence of the Stewarts, so powerful in the past, has become Jacobitism—a sentiment still powerful, and with possibilities of danger to the new Government and restored Church, but confined on the whole to the Celtic, Roman Catholic, and Episcopalian sections of Scottish society.

Two of these great influences having retired into the background the way is made clear for the full play of the remaining one—namely, the relations with England. As far back as 1560, as we remember, these relations had begun to alter their character from hostility to growing friendliness, the cause of the change being the rupture between Scotland and France brought about by the Reformation. But we also remember how the mutual attraction of the countries was again and again counteracted by forces that kept apart; by inequality of constitutions; by unlikeness of historical traditions; by antagonism of religion; by the persistence of a feeling of nationality.

The Revolution of 1688, by getting rid of the Stewarts and settling the religious difficulty, brought the two

countries very much closer together, and did a great deal to make their civilisations less unequal. The Dutch stranger-king, with his devotion to Protestantism on the one hand and toleration on the other, with his cool blood and his large Continental experience, came as a judge and a mediator to lands which Nature meant to love and help one another, but which had so often misunderstood and hindered one another in the great struggle for life. In this chapter we shall see how at last, with much difficulty, indeed, but with a decision which we may well believe was final, Scotland and England were made one.

The Government of William III. did many definite things to advance the civilisation of Scotland. For example, the law of bankruptcy was amended and organised, and an act similar to the English Habeas Corpus Act was passed. Above all, by a very important Act of 1696 the system of elementary education was perfected by the setting up of parish schools, supported by a permanent rent charge on the land. The universities and grammar schools, we know, had already been long there, nor had elementary education been neglected. But the permanent endowment of the parish schools under the Act of 1696 gave Scotland at once an enviable pre-eminence among the nations of Europe, and made her peasantry stand high above the ordinary level of intelligence and knowledge.

Yet it was not so much what the Revolution did as what it failed to do that was the immediate impulse to closer union between Scotland and England. Good as it was, the Revolution left Scotland with two great imperfections—(1) the Scottish Parliament was still defective; (2) the growth and expansion of Scotland were seriously checked and hampered by restrictions on trade. The latter was at this stage the more important, and we must consider it closely.

The whole matter turns upon two things—(1) Scotland's commercial ambition; (2) her defective social condition.

The blemishes on Scottish society, and especially the blemish of widespread poverty, created many reformers eager for their removal, and the commercial ambition of the Scots and the temptations of the New World gave those schemes of reform a commercial character. The poverty of Scotland at this time was terrible. The people were entirely dependent for support on the productions of their own land, and a large area of land was sterile and very costly to work. A bad season—and in the Scottish climate bad seasons are of frequent occurrence—might mean famine. At such a time it was possible to say without exaggeration that thousands might die for want of bread. Again, even when scarcity fell short of famine it gave rise to an enormous amount of pauperism, and as there was no satisfactory poor law in Scotland there were vagabondage and beggary such as have seldom been exceeded in any nominally civilised state. In 1698 it was reported by a very competent authority that there were 200,000 people who lived by begging from door to door. The Highlands was a kind of storehouse of paupers, who might be sent southwards to infest the Lowlands, and especially the towns.

All good Scottish patriots were much concerned about this sad state of things, but it was difficult to find any remedy at once effective and practicable. A most remarkable man, Andrew Fletcher, the laird of Saltoun in East Lothian, tried his hand on the problem. He was a country gentleman who had travelled abroad in early life, and had come back to Scotland to oppose Lauderdale's Government. He was thenceforward associated with the extreme opposition both in England and Scotland, though he did not approve of Argyll's Rising. He was mixed up with Monmouth's rising, though he quarrelled with Monmouth soon after, when he wandered for a time in Spain, and then served in Hungary against the Turks. The Revolution brought him back to Britain, and he settled down on his Scottish estate, devoting himself partly

to agriculture, but chiefly to the improvement of social conditions in Scotland. Being a man of strong will, high purpose, and ready speech, Fletcher of Saltoun gathered round him a band of disciples who called themselves "the Patriots." Fletcher himself had bold and eccentric theories; he was a kind of Republican of the Greek and Roman sort, and the principles of the "Patriots" were hardly such as to recommend them to practical statesmen. They wished to develop Scottish resources, Scottish unity, and Scottish independence. In particular, Fletcher set himself to deal with pauperism, as to which he made some startling proposals. He proposed for one thing that the Highlands and the Lowlands might, as it were, exchange their populations; the troublesome inhabitants of the hill country being brought southwards to be taught orderly behaviour, and the Lowlanders being sent north to introduce civilisation into the Highlands. Another and even more startling proposal was that every man of a certain estate should be compelled to employ a certain number of servants, whose duties should descend from father to son, and who might be passed, at a definite price, from one employer to another. Such "hereditary alienable servants" were to be taken from the class of vagabond paupers who were such a curse to Scotland. Fletcher was careful to point out that he was not recommending slavery, but between "hereditary alienable servants" and slaves there is not much to choose. There is no doubt, indeed, that Fletcher was a friend to slavery—to the extent at least to which another great Scotsman, Thomas Carlyle, may be said to have been so—as a means of conquering and drilling the vicious and idle. As a matter of fact, there were specimens of practical slavery in Scotland, especially in the seventeenth century, which made Scotsmen familiar with it. In Fletcher's own neighbourhood, for example, in the collieries and saltworks of East Lothian, there was genuine slavery among the labourers, which was

legalised by statute in 1606, and was not abolished until 1775.

Besides proposing such visionary and dubious remedies Fletcher realised the value of close and friendly relations with England, though he did not favour complete union, and became, indeed, as we shall see, one of the most strenuous opponents of the scheme which was actually carried out.

And now let us leave Fletcher and the Patriots, and see how Scotland struggled to get industrial and commercial expansion and outlet.

We remember that free trade with England was secured to Scotland by the incorporating union under the Commonwealth, and that it was destroyed again, chiefly by the Navigation Act of the Restoration. The Scottish grumbling over the matter soon died away, and free trade formed no part of the Revolution Settlement. The reason of this was that both England and Scotland, and, indeed, all the countries of Europe, still held to the belief that countries could only maintain *national*, by means of *commercial*, independence. Commercial rivalry was held to be the normal and healthy relation between states and unrestrained competition the only method by which the utmost prosperity of each could be secured. In these views England fully shared. Ever since she had succeeded in gaining by the discovery of new lands she had not only been resolved to keep the gains entirely to herself, but her method of doing so—namely, granting trading privileges to more than one company who were rivals of one another—caused much friction and trouble.

The most famous company of this sort was the East India Company, which got its first charter of incorporation in 1600, and had it renewed in 1693. Another English trading company of great importance was the African Company, which did in Africa very much what the East India Company did in Asia.

There were many financial schemes and projects in the air, and Scotland determined to enter the way of rivalry with England. She was urged along this road by one of her sons—a man more obscure in birth and position than Fletcher of Saltoun, but equally energetic, and in the long run more practically useful. William Paterson seems to have forsaken Scotland early in life and to have become a London merchant. In London he won a world-wide and undying fame, for the Bank of England, or at least the idea which it embodies, sprang from his brain. He was also a reformer of the currency.

Paterson's theories of trade were in advance of those held by most people in his time. He believed that the store of the world's wealth was made smaller and not greater by restrictions and rivalries, and the idea dawned upon him of founding, by means of English and Scottish capital, a group of ports, free to the trade of the world, in the Isthmus of Darien, the natural, and the shortest, bridge between the old world and the new.

It was accordingly proposed that one more trading company should be added to those already in the field. In the search for shareholders Scottish commercial ambition, and possibly also the patriotism of Paterson, suggested the idea that the new company should be one of Scots and the colony in Darien a colony of Scots. At the same time, English money was needed to carry the scheme through, and accordingly half the shares were to be held by Englishmen and half by Scots; while of the Board of 20 directors, 10 were to be English, resident in London, and 10 Scottish, resident in Edinburgh.

The company, thus supported and thus managed, was called "The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies," and the Darien scheme was only one of its projects. In June 1695 an Act establishing the new company passed the Estates. The company was given power to trade on a footing of equality with other similar

companies, and, that its powers might be more than nominal, it was authorised to fit out and arm vessels of war. It was at liberty to settle in and to fortify all places in the three continents which were uninhabited or where sovereignty had not been established by any other power. When attacked, the members were to use their arms.

The privileges of the company belonged to them only; no other Scotsmen were to attempt to exercise them without licence.

This brilliant scheme was, of course, favourably received in Scotland; but what would England say? Englishmen were at least delighted to be shareholders, and the shares open to them were soon all taken up. But it was its very success in this respect that made the ultimate failure of the scheme certain. For the two bodies of shareholders were rivals, and their rivalry became positive hatred when anything like success came to the company.

Commercial rivalry soon roused that strong and terrible sentiment, the feeling of nationality, and everything made for a quarrel between the two nations. The English Parliament in December 1695 sent to the king a remonstrance against the "Scotch East India Company," as they called it, founded upon the dangers to English trade which were involved in it. The king agreed in the view taken by Parliament, and the House of Commons proceeded to seize the books and papers of the company and to threaten the Scottish directors with impeachment. In a few months all the English shareholders withdrew from the company.

On Scottish capital alone the company could not prosper. The funds, however, were somehow subscribed, almost the whole country doing its best in this respect, and before the list was closed a sum of £400,000 appeared upon it. It is, however, one thing to subscribe and another thing to pay cash. Only about half the promised sum was realised.

Between 1696 and 1698 the company was busily making its plans, and the commercial spirit in Scotland reached fever point. Scottish fisheries were to extend to Greenland. The company was to send cargoes to the Gold Coast in one direction and to Archangel in the other. All sorts of home manufactures were to be started or revived. Arrangements were made for building factories abroad.

There were two expeditions to Darien. The first sailed in July 1698, consisting of 1200 men, with three armed vessels. William Paterson went with it. It reached the Isthmus without disaster, but there four great dangers assailed it. (1) It was inexperienced and inefficiently governed. (2) It encountered the hostility of Spain, which still regarded America as rightly her own, and was dangerously near the lands of the new colony. (3) It had to bear the hostility of the English colonies in its neighbourhood. (4) It had to encounter the perils of a deadly climate.

These four dangers ruined the scheme. The first expedition had to retreat within a year and seek refuge in New England. A second followed in 1699, not knowing the fate of the first. It found the settlement on the Isthmus in ruins, and what was possible was done to repair it. In a short time, however, the Spaniards fell on the settlers and they too had to retreat. By the spring of 1700 the Scots had abandoned Panama for ever.

The scheme was in its essence a premature and harebrained one from beginning to end, but the Scots attributed its failure purely to the attitude of the king and the English Parliament. The company made more than one unsuccessful effort to address the king on its affairs. The Estates met in 1700, the Duke of Queensberry being the Commissioner. The supporters of the company were defiant and threatening, and the Commissioner had to adjourn the Parliament from time

to time in order that passion might cool. Addresses were sent to the king by the offended Scots, and were always courteously received. Towards the company he expressed no hostility, but he firmly said that the colonising project in Darien must meet with his absolute disapproval.

Then William repeated the suggestion already made by him in 1689—namely, that the difficulties of the two countries could be solved only by an *incorporating union.* When, in February 1700, the English House of Lords went out of its way to condemn the Darien colony the king spoke sympathetically of Scotland and its Transatlantic misfortunes. With the instinct of a true statesman he again declared that with separate legislatures England and Scotland must be constantly in collision on matters of trade, and he reminded the Lords of his "former recommendation of an union between the kingdoms." The Lords at once adopted the recommendation, and a Bill was sent to the Commons "for authorising certain commissioners of England to treat with commissioners of Scotland for the weal of both kingdoms." The Commons rejected the Bill, nominally on the ground that a matter of such moment should not have been begun by the Peers, but really, no doubt, because of the strained feeling between the two countries.

In 1702 William III. died. Just before his death he addressed the Commons about union in a similar way to that in which he had addressed the Lords two years before. His death was a great blow to the cause, for the matter was left in the hands of statesmen—so often self-seeking and partisan—and of the two embittered and jealous nations themselves.

Still, the cause did not die with King William. The English Parliament met in March 1702, and, respectfully acquiescing in the will of the newly-dead king, proceeded to appoint commissioners in May. The Scottish Estates

met in June, Queensberry being still Lord High Commissioner. Queen Anne had expressed her desire that Scotland should meet England half way in the matter, and the Estates made no resistance. Scottish commissioners were duly appointed to confer with those of England.

The commissioners held languid sessions between November 1702 and February 1703, and at the latter date they parted, not to meet again. They agreed on the question of the succession to the crown, which was to be the same as that under the English Revolution Settlement, and also on the great question of a union of the legislatures. But on the subject of trade they were hopelessly at variance. The Scottish commissioners, rankling under what they believed to have been their unrighteous desertion by the king and the English colonies, demanded—(1) complete freedom of trade between England and Scotland; (2) equality of position as to importation and exportation; (3) an equivalent for the loss they would incur by sharing in the English National Debt. On the English side nothing was promised except internal free trade in all products except wool. The Scots asked that their African Company might be maintained on the understanding that it would not directly compete with the East India Company, but the English commissioners seemed to imply that the Scottish company could not be tolerated.

A new Scottish Parliament—the first new one since the Revolution, and the last in the separate life of Scotland—met in May 1703. Queensberry was again Lord High Commissioner. Though the Parliament was new its spirit was no more friendly to England. The temper of Scottish Presbyterianism was again much higher than it had been, and there was fear lest Anne and her ministers should design the overthrow of the Scottish Church. The Government, indeed, only asked for full toleration of

Episcopacy in Scotland, but even that the Estates were not willing to grant.

On the whole, the Parliament of 1703 worked steadily against union. Of this there is some striking evidence. (1) An Act was passed to prevent any king of Britain in the future from making war or peace without the consent of the Scottish Parliament. (2) Although England and France were at this time at war (the Spanish Succession War in which Marlborough gained his great victories) the Scottish Estates favoured France by removing the import duties on French wines, showing thereby that in England's European enterprise they had no share.

(3) What were called "Limitations" of the power of the Crown were proposed on the motion of Fletcher of Saltoun, by which extensive powers of patronage were transferred from the British Crown to the Scottish Parliament.

(4) Most important of all, an Act of Security was passed, regulating the succession after the death of Queen Anne. By the English Act of Settlement the succession after Anne was to go to the House of Brunswick—that is, to the descendants of James I.'s daughter, who married the Elector Palatine. It was impossible for Scotland, in its temper at this time, to take the line which had been taken by England. The Scottish Act of Security, therefore, declared that a successor to the queen must, indeed, be sought among the Protestant members of the Royal line, but must not be the same as the successor to the Crown of England "unless there be such conditions of government settled and enacted as may secure the honour and sovereignity of this crown and kingdom . . . the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation, etc." Under the Act the nation was to be formed into a kind of defensive militia. Such was the policy of "Scotland for the Scots" to which Fletcher of Saltoun lent his powerful aid.

It was difficult for the Government to know how to

deal with hostility so pronounced as that manifested in the Act of Security. Queensberry had given the royal assent to the other Acts, but now he drew the line. *The Act of Security*, he said, *could not be touched with the sceptre.*

In the session of 1704 the Marquis of Tweeddale was commissioner. The Act of Security was brought in again and carried without much debate. This time, chiefly by the influence of the English minister Godolphin, it received the royal assent.

Godolphin's yielding mood, however, was not that of the English Parliament. The arming of the Scottish people provided for by the Act of Security went on, and alarming, and probably exaggerated, reports of it reached London. The English Houses had to consider the likelihood that a separate and hostile kingdom, at once discontented, poor, and brave, would ere very long be set up north of Tweed, and to deal with it as best they could. After some anxious consideration they resolved to follow a policy of mild retaliation. The retaliation was mild, inasmuch as a Bill was introduced in December 1704 proposing that commissioners should again meet to arrange complete incorporation. But it was retaliation, as that Bill included a provision that until the Scottish succession was settled on the same lines as that of England (1) all Scotsmen (except those actually settled in England) should, after Christmas 1705, be regarded as aliens; (2) that no horses, arms, or ammunition should be exported from England into Scotland on the one hand, and no coal, cattle, or linen exported from Scotland into England. These legislative provisions were accompanied by an order to fortify some of the northern and border towns, to call out the militia of the northern counties, and to march troops to the border.

It was unfortunate that soon after this the spectre of the Darien expedition appeared in a very angry shape. The Scottish African Company still existed, with all its

old pride, if not with all its old vigour. A ship belonging to the company had been seized in English waters for breach of charter on behalf of the East India Company, and in reprisal an English ship trading to the Indies, which had put into the Firth of Forth for repairs, was taken possession of, under circumstances of great treachery, by the African Company. The captured crew, having been well plied with liquor, and otherwise induced to be garrulous about their reminiscences, told a story which excited Scottish feeling, easily made into a cause of serious quarrel. These sailors were believed to have confessed that they had once seized a ship belonging to the South African Company and murdered the captain and crew. The Scottish Privy Council went through the form of a judicial inquiry, and the captain of the English ship, whose name was Green, was tried for piracy and murder in March 1705. Sufficient evidence was easily got, for much evidence was not wanted; the Scots, it is to be feared—or at least the Edinburgh populace—chiefly wanted an English victim, and Green was easily convicted and hanged. About twenty years after it came out that the captain and crew, who were supposed to have been murdered, were alive and well.

We can clearly see from such things as these that a more critical moment in the relations of England and Scotland had hardly existed since the War of Independence. The utmost danger to Scotland could be averted only by two things—(1) great wisdom and self-control on the part of the English Parliament; (2) a strong outburst of unionist opinion and feeling in the Scottish Parliament. If both, or indeed either, of these things should come short, apparently a rupture was inevitable which could not but involve the ruin of the weaker state—the ruin, that is, of her self-respect and essential independence. The glory of Bannockburn would be turned into everlasting shame and contempt.

1705 was the year of crisis. The Scottish Estates met in June, and they were at once greeted by a message from the queen, which left no doubt as to the general temper of England on the question. The queen reminded the Estates of the Act for the appointment of commissioners of union passed by the Parliament of England, and besought them to meet the advances of their neighbour half way.

At this stage of the proceedings there were, roughly speaking, three parties in the Scottish Parliament.

(1) There was a party which may be called *National*, which devoted itself to maintaining the rights and dignity of Scotland, especially in matters of trade, and which might or might not favour closer union with England, according as union might, in its judgment be favourable or unfavourable to those rights. This party was in a majority.

(2) There was a *Jacobite* party, led by the Duke of Hamilton. This party, small in numbers, was firmly opposed to union.

(3) There was a third party, nicknamed the Flying Squadron — *Squadrone Volante* — which was formed immediately after the Estates met under the leadership of Tweeddale, the late Lord High Commissioner, and which included many leading and powerful names.

The only one of the three parties which had very clear views about incorporation with England was the second, which uncompromisingly opposed it. The National party tended to divide into (*a*) those who favoured incorporation on condition of special trading privileges to Scotland; and (*b*) those who, like Fletcher of Saltoun, considered that incorporation would injure Scottish prosperity in trade and commerce. The opinions of the Squadron were even more uncertain and open to education, by eloquence or by events.

At first the Estates, influenced chiefly by Fletcher of Saltoun, took no notice of the queen's injunction to consider the union, but proceeded to advocate Scottish self-

assertion on independent lines. For example, a Council of Trade was appointed, with large powers in all matters belonging to industry and commerce. While the question of the succession to the Crown was carefully avoided, the Estates—here again much under the influence of Fletcher with his republican notions—adopted proposals which all made for the independence of Scotland rather than for its union with England. For example—(1) it was resolved that on the queen's death, if the two countries should have the same sovereign, the Scottish ministers of State and judges should be appointed by the Estates; (2) it was provided that when treaties involving both nations were arranged a Scottish ambassador should be present in every case to look after Scottish interests; (3) Fletcher's "Limitations" were discussed, by which, in the event of the two countries having the same monarch, there should be certain special privileges for Scotland, such as annual Parliaments with all the patronage of the country, and a permanent committee of thirty-one to be elected by Parliament and to sit during the intervals of Parliament.

The Government of Queen Anne, however, was working steadily for union, and in a short time the "Flying Squadron" came to its assistance, winning over a section of the National party, and throwing the rest into an isolated opposition. Towards the end of August a Bill for a treaty of union was brought before the Estates. It was met by a motion by Fletcher of Saltoun to the effect that the English proposals were so injurious to the honour and interest of Scotland that they could not be complied with in any wise. The Government and the Squadron combined to defeat Fletcher's motion, and the consideration of the Union Bill went on. The chief difficulty in the way—a difficulty which was felt by all parties—was the recent Alien Act of the English Parliament. An address was forwarded to the queen praying for the repeal of the Alien Act as a necessary step before appointing commis-

sioners to treat again about union. However, the tendency to union was at the moment so strong that before the answer of the Crown to the address had been received the Act appointing commissioners was passed. Events now moved quickly. In the face of much Jacobite opposition, supported by Fletcher of Saltoun, the nomination of commissioners was given to the Crown. The treaty, when the commissioners had arranged it, was to be in triplicate—one version for the Scottish Parliament, one for the English Parliament, and one for the queen. Only one restriction was put on the future commissioner —namely, that *no alteration should be made in the Church establishment in Scotland.*

The Bill having been made ready for the royal assent the queen was again reminded of the Alien Act, and told that no further step could be taken until it was out of the way. Under the influence of Somers the English Parliament yielded with a good grace, and the Alien Act was repealed.

All was now ready for the choice and operations of the commissioners. By April 1706 they were appointed—thirty-one on the English side, thirty-one on the Scottish. The English commissioners were all peers or civil servants. The Scottish commission included a number of country gentlemen and representatives of burghs. The clergy were quite unrepresented.

The serious work began at Whitehall on 22nd April 1706. Each body of commissioners made its proposals in writing; the proposals were then deliberated on by the other body apart; and the decision on them was made in a "full meeting." Even when the two bodies agreed the decision needed to be ratified afterwards by Parliament.

We have now three things to consider. 1. The work of the commissioners and its results. 2. The action of the Scottish Parliament. 3. The action of the English Parliament.

1. *The work of the Commissioners.* (1) The English commissioners began by proposing that there should be *one kingdom, one Parliament, and the same succession to the throne*—in other words, that there should be complete incorporation of the two states. On the Scottish side the unity of succession was at once agreed to; but as to the other matters, a counter-proposal was made that there should be complete community between the English and the Scots in all rights and privileges and a mutual free trade. The English commissioners, however, respectfully pressed their points, to which the Scots at last agreed, on the understanding that the union was to include community of rights and complete free trade.

(2) This all-important point having been gained there came the difficult and delicate concern of *taxation.* The English began by proposing in general terms that, in respect both of taxation and commercial regulations, the two countries should be absolutely alike, and the Scots responded by asking that all such matters should be considered in detail.

This was agreed; and:

First. It was settled that there should be uniformity in the two countries in commercial regulations and in *indirect* taxation, including the excise on beer and ale.

Second. Scotland, in consideration of her poverty, was exempted for a time from certain temporary taxes imposed in England, such as the window tax, the malt duties and the coal tax.

Third. The most troublesome financial difficulty between the countries still remained—namely, the adjustment of the two national debts of Scotland and England. Scotland, having public debts of her own, could not fairly be asked to contribute to the expenses of the English National Debt (as she would have done by the full share in the burden of England's indirect taxation which she was deliberately incurring) without getting compensation,

or an Equivalent, as it was called. An Equivalent was therefore carefully calculated out and fixed at about £398,000. This sum was enough to pay off the Scottish public debts, to indemnify the Darien shareholders, etc., and the countries were thus enabled to start fair as to finance.

(3) Next came the question of *Parliamentary representation.* The English proposed that Scotland should send 38 members to the House of Commons; the Scots wanted 50; but the number was at last fixed at 45. To the House of Lords the Scottish peerage were to send 16 representatives, elected for each Parliament.

(4) The resolution, by which, as we remember, ecclesiastical matters were to be kept out of the negotiation, was rigidly adhered to, and Presbyterianism therefore remained the established religion of Scotland.

(5) In the same way the law of Scotland and the system of judicature by which it was applied (being, as we know, very different from those of England) were left untouched.

(6) The Scottish Cross of St Andrew and the English Cross of St George were to be combined in one flag, and the United Kingdom was to be styled *Great Britain.* The commissioners finished their work on those lines at the end of July 1706.

2. *The action of the Scottish Parliament.* The Estates met in the beginning of October, and the treaty, as prepared by the commissioners, was at once laid before them. The compliment paid to Scotland by thus showing the treaty first to her Parliament arose probably from the sense that she was the smaller country and more keenly sensitive on points of nationality.

Queensberry was Lord High Commissioner. The feeling in the country generally ran high, and was reflected within the Parliament House. On the whole, it was against the

Union. The Jacobites were, of course, against it, and their principles were widely spread, not only in the Highlands, but elsewhere. Their leader was the Duke of Hamilton. The Cameronians were opposed to it for the reason of which we have heard so often—namely, that the Union would be with an un-Covenanted people. While we may smile at this fanatical persistence, we must remember that it was no laughing matter at the time. For Cameronianism was a fierce and fighting creed, and it was quite possible for it to combine with Jacobitism so as to threaten a serious insurrection. And, indeed, an insurrection of that kind was almost brought about. It was arranged that the Cameronians at Sanquhar and the Jacobites under the Duke of Atholl in the North were to rise at the same time, then to unite, then to march on Edinburgh, and turn out the Parliament which was trying to arrange the Union. Fortunately, the secret of the plot was betrayed, and it came to nothing.

Besides the Jacobites and the Cameronians, the National party, headed by Fletcher of Saltoun, the party which favoured Scottish independence, and, in theory, preferred Republicanism to monarchy, was still in existence and still strong. There was a large mass of opinion both in town and country which always tended to oppose union with England. An enormous number of pamphlets was written to show how much Scotland would lose by it. People were told that the ancient Scottish kingdom was being betrayed into the hands of its historic enemy; that the promised share in trade was an illusory substitute for the independent commerce which was to be abandoned; and that the national Church could not possibly hold its own against that invasion of Episcopacy which was certain to follow union. On the whole, it seems certain that a large majority of the inhabitants of Scotland were hostile to the proposals of the Government.

The party in favour of union, and the Parliament which

had met to carry into law the treaty prepared by the commissioners, had thus a difficult and delicate task before them. If France had been free to act for Scotland against England as she had so often done in the past, the anti-English parties in Scotland might have combined under Jacobite leadership, and, with help from French troops, might have overpowered the Government. But 1706 was the year of Marlborough's great victory over the French at Ramillies. France was not really in a condition to help Scotland, so, although the Jacobites proposed an invasion, the Government got wind of the proposal, and the Scottish dissentients were partly scared, partly shamed, out of their plan.

There was much excitement in Edinburgh when Parliament began its sittings. The Duke of Hamilton was living at Holyrood in much state, and as he passed daily to and from the Parliament House he was a convenient centre of noisy opposition. There were occasional serious riots, which may have been exaggerated by reporters eager to represent the Union as indispensable, and to discredit the opposition, but which were at least sufficient to show the temper of the capital.

The Estates began to discuss the treaty seriously in November. During the interval they received many addresses against the Union, both from town and country districts, which were made the most of by the Opposition. The Opposition maintained that the constituencies ought to be consulted before the Union was carried out; but the Government stood firm against a dissolution, on the ground that a sufficient "mandate" had been obtained at the general election of 1703.

The Estates took up the clauses of the treaty one by one.

(1) *The unity of succession, kingdom and legislature.* This was discussed on the express understanding that, if it were carried, it was not to force on the Union in spite

of disagreements which might arise on subsequent clauses. The discussion of the clauses on which all the rest hung enabled parties to define themselves, and its fate was made certain by the firm adhesion of the Squadron to the Government. It was carried by an absolute majority of thirty-three, which represented a large majority of the nobles and a small majority of the other two Estates.

(2) *Commercial matters and the adjustment of taxation.* These gave rise to a good deal of discussion, which ended, on the whole, to the advantage of Scotland. The Equivalent also, after being examined by two professional mathematicians, was adopted.

(3) As to *Parliamentary representation*, there was much debating but no alteration of the proposals in the treaty. The 45 members to be sent from Scotland to the House of Commons were divided between the counties and the burghs in the proportion of 30 to the counties and 15 to the burghs. The franchise was unaltered.

(4) *The Church.* We remember that the Scottish Church was excepted from the subjects to be discussed by the Union commissioners. To the ever-anxious Presbyterians this negative security seemed insufficient. Accordingly an Act of Security was passed by the Estates providing that the Presbyterian establishment with its Confession of Faith should be "unalterable" and should be the only government of the Church within the kingdom of Scotland. Every future king of Britain was on his accession to take an oath to protect the said Church. It was also made obligatory on every teacher, whether in university or school, to subscribe the Confession of Faith and profess Presbyterianism.

The substance of the treaty being thus safely through the Scottish Parliament the Opposition felt themselves in evil case. The heart and soul of the Opposition were Jacobite. Hopes of French aid having died out it was thought that a purely domestic *coup d'état* might succeed.

As the Scottish Parliament was about to destroy itself the Opposition proposed to make a dramatic protest and then secede in a body, for they saw it was illegal for the Parliament thus to bring its own existence to an end. When the moment came, however, Hamilton refused to take up the protest, which forthwith fell to the ground.

In January 1707 the discussion of the Articles of Union was finished, and the final ratification of the whole was passed by a majority of 41 in a meeting of 179.

3. *The action of the English Parliament.* Queensberry arrived in London with the Scottish Act in April 1707. The English Parliament had prepared for the momentous arrival by passing an Act of Security for the Church of England as by law established, the motive of which was to guard against any encouragement to English dissent which might follow on close quarters with Scottish Presbyterianism. On the whole, however, there was on the English side very little difficulty with the Acts. The Commons ratified them—not, indeed, without debate, but by large majorities—the House of Lords did the same, and the Act of Union received the royal assent on 6th March 1707.

Thus, without violence and by the free action of public opinion, the noble policy of the best statesmanship, the policy of Edward I., of Bacon, of Pym, of Oliver Cromwell, was fully accomplished, and Scotland, with no loss of her individuality, after no break with what was best in her past, with no sacrifice of the only sort of independence worth having, entered as an equal partner on the inheritance of the great destinies of England. It was said, indeed, by those who opposed the Union that the assent of the Scottish Parliament was bought with bribes. There is no doubt that large advances of money were made by England to Scotland, and a Parliamentary committee was appointed to look into the matter. It was pleaded that the advances were for arrears of salaries and that they were loans. The

researches of the committee went to show that the sum to be accounted for was much smaller than it was at first represented to be, and no conclusion discreditable to Scottish honour was arrived at. The Union made the Jacobites very angry, and they were again tempted to plot for French help. While the English Parliament was discussing the Act of Union a Scottish emissary named Hooke was negotiating in France for troops to help the Jacobites. In March 1707 he was back in Scotland, trying to stir up the Jacobite nobility and gentry, but his success was of the smallest. Besides the Jacobites he tried the Cameronians, but with little more success.

The great king of France, Louis XIV., however, was resolved to try an invasion of Scotland, and a force of about 4000 managed to get into the Firth of Forth. This was in March 1707. No sooner had it got there than the English fleet was after it, whereupon the French commander thought it prudent to steer for France again. So much for the first attempt of Jacobitism in Scotland after the Union.

What were the immediate results of the Union?

About *finance* there was at first a good deal of difficulty. English officers of customs and excise were introduced into Scotland, and as taxation was much increased their unfamiliar presence and arbitrary ways irritated the Scots.

Some *constitutional changes* raised suspicions in the Scottish mind that the institutions of Scotland were to be unduly Anglicised. Justices of the Peace on the English model were set up in Scotland. A Court of Exchequer was set up in Edinburgh for the sake of central control of taxation: it lasted until 1832. Above all, the old Secret or Privy Council, with its extensive judicial and irresponsible executing powers, was abolished, chiefly through the influence of the Whig party in England. The Scottish law of treason was made to resemble that of England, much to the distaste of the Scottish lawyers.

In Church matters we fully realise that the Union made no difference in Scotland. We remember also how the questions of toleration and lay patronage were settled at the Revolution; how lay patronage, always offensive to the Scottish mind, was done away with; and how, as regards toleration, Episcopal worship in parish churches without a liturgy was, by an Act of 1695, allowed to those only who would take the Oaths of Allegiance. The increased intercourse between English and Scots which followed the Union led to the frequent use of forms of prayer in Scotland and to an increase in the numbers of Episcopalians resident there who wished to worship in their own way. An Edinburgh clergyman in 1709 was imprisoned for using the Book of Common Prayer, and he thereupon appealed to the House of Lords, which reversed the decision of the Scottish Court of Session against him. Such an event was a serious jar between the institutions of the two countries, and it was evident that something must be done. A Toleration Act was accordingly passed in 1712 after a great struggle with Scottish opposition. This Act gave to the Episcopal clergy in Scotland full protection in the practice of their rites, including baptism and marriage. That the Act might not make things too easy for the Jacobites in Scotland the Whig party got a clause added to it, by which it was made necessary for all to take the Oath of Abjuration. This addition made the Toleration Act additionally hated in Scotland—by the Jacobites for obvious reasons, and by the Presbyterians because the oath appeared to imply submission to the Anglican provisions of the Act of Settlement. This two-edged offensiveness of the Act lessened its benefits.

As regards lay patronage, the wise policy of the Revolution settlement was suddenly and unhappily reversed. A pretext for reversal was found in the principle of compensation in the Revolution policy. According to that

principle, wherever compensation to the patron deprived of his patronage was not forthcoming, patronage was to remain. This defect in King William's measure caused many "heats and divisions"; and so, in 1712, the Government of Queen Anne restored lay patronage as it had been before. Each Presbytery, under the Act of Queen Anne, was obliged to receive and admit the person presented by the patron, in the same manner as it had done before the Act of William and Mary. The Scottish Church was obliged to bear the new Act, in spite of the national dislike of the system which it restored, and in spite of the Erastian tone in which it was expressed.

This Act of 1712 bore bitter fruit in the years to come, and was the immediate cause of the various secessions which weakened the Scottish establishment, and culminated in the Disruption of 1843.

CHAPTER XIII

THE LAST STRUGGLE WITH THE STEWARTS. 1707-1746

IN a certain very important sense our story is now told. We have watched North Britain, with its strange mixture of fertile plains and fat river valleys; with wild, barren mountain ranges and sea-washed islands; with its two distinct races and its many un-English institutions, steadily, through many checkered experiences, averting ignoble conquest at the head of its great southern neighbour, and slowly winning its way to a union on equal terms with England, from which, indeed, what was strongest and best in its civilisation had always come.

From 1707 onwards the history of Scotland ceases, and the history of Britain takes its place—a history in which Scotland has a great and important share, but with which this book has no concern.

But there are two things which make it necessary to write one other chapter, however short—two things, or rather, perhaps, one thing with two aspects. The Scottish Highlands were still separate and dangerous, and in the Highlands Jacobitism had, naturally, one of its most dangerous strongholds. A short chapter is necessary to tell of the doings of the Jacobites after the Union, and of the way in which the Highlands were at last brought into line with the rest of Scotland, and how these inhabitants ceased to be, in any vital sense, "a peculiar people."

The Scottish people as a whole would probably soon have been quite reconciled to the Union if it had not been for Jacobitism, with the Celtic Roman Catholic and

Episcopalian support which it could command. Jacobitism, too, we must always remember, was English as well as Scottish, and it was apparently true that the ministry of Harley and Bolingbroke gave money to Highland chiefs whose hearts were with "the Pretender"—*i.e.* James Edward Stewart, the son of James II. and Mary of Modena—of whose birth we took note. (See p. 250.) This young man had been growing up under the protection of Louis XIV., the king of France, at the court of Scotland's ancient ally, and his presence and possible doings were a source of great danger to the newly-formed state of Great Britain. George I. succeeded to the British throne in 1714. He being of the House of Hanover, while Anne—half-sister of the Pretender—was of Stewart blood, the result of his accession was to intensify Jacobite feeling in Scotland. The first Georgian Parliament of Great Britain met in March 1715; and the Scottish members were firmly Hanoverian, the sixteen representative peers being led by the Duke of Argyll, who, notwithstanding his Celtic blood and immense Highland backing, was a staunch Whig. The Established Church also showed no trace of Jacobitism.

Yet there were many causes, some English, and more Scottish, which predisposed to a Jacobite rising in the year 1715. Of English Jacobitism you will read in books of English history. In Scotland there were three powerful predisposing causes.

(1) There was the permanent tendency to Jacobitism in the Highlands. Though, as we remember, the Stewarts (the Fitzalans) were of Teutonic race, the Celts of Scotland had on the whole attached themselves to the family with affectionate loyalty. This loyalty had been checked, but not overcome, by the pacification under William III. and it was increased by the dislike of the Highlanders to a Government becoming more and more modern, civilised, and (in a good sense) English. Again (and this is very

important), Argyll, the Hanoverian chieftain, stirred up the Jacobite chieftians of his race to fierce irritation.

(2) There was, even in the Lowlands, much disaffection in the hearts of the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, which naturally took the form of Jacobitism.

(3) In Scotland generally, including both Highlands and Lowlands, there was much anti-English feeling, due partly to unquenched memories of the Darien affair, partly to dislike of the Union and its effects.

What chances were there that a Jacobite outbreak would fail?

(1) In the first place it could not succeed without French help, and French help was made impossible by the death of Louis XIV. and the Hanoverian sympathies of the Duke of Orleans, who governed France as regent.

(2) The movement was hindered by the Hanoverian loyalty of the Covenanters and western Whigs. This loyalty, which was quite spontaneous, and was checked rather than encouraged by the Government, led the Covenanters to organise volunteer regiments in many towns.

(3) Again, the movement was hindered by the fact that it lacked the personal presence of the Pretender himself, until it was too late for it to do any good. The Pretender, too, was a lazy, pompous, incapable *roué*, ineffective even as a figure-head, so that his presence, even if it had been vouchsafed in time, could have done little good.

(4) Once more, the movement was hindered by the character of its practical leader, the Pretender's lieutenant, John Erskine, Earl of Mar. Mar was a crafty and unprincipled time server, who did his best to be both an accomplished courtier and a Highland chief of chiefs. He professed loyal allegiance to George I., and stayed at court during the first year of the new reign.

One night in August 1715, after attending a levee Mar left the Thames in a coal boat and made his way to the

Firth of Forth, where he landed on the Fife shore. Thence, collecting what force he could, he made his way northwards into his own country of Aberdeenshire. At the Castletown of Braemar he brought together a large number of chiefs, ostensibly to arrange a hunting expedition in the neighbouring forests. After a consultation the hunting expedition was turned into rebellion, and in September the insurrectionary flag was raised.

The Government hastily prepared for defence. The heart and soul of the defence was the Duke of Argyll, who had his enormous following behind him, and who at this crisis behaved not only as a firm loyalist but as a gifted statesman and general. He was made commander-in-chief of the Government forces in Scotland, and so vital was his position felt to be that one of Mar's immediate objects was to seize Argyll's castle of Inveraray and try to turn it into a Jacobite stronghold.

Argyll occupied Stirling, a position, as we know, of exceedingly commanding strength, and he tried with much success to utilise and encourage the volunteering movement in the towns and to secure the support of Lowland Presbyterianism.

By October Mar and his forces had marched southwards from Braemar to Perth, where they settled down and confronted Argyll at Stirling.

Besides the main rising under Mar there were two smaller risings, one in the south of Scotland, under Lord Kenmure and the Earl of Nithsdale, and another in England, under Lord Derwentwater and a certain Mr Forster. After Mar had posted himself at Perth it became a great object with him to join forces somehow with the insurgents in the south.

The difficulty in the way of this junction was, of course, Argyll's army at Stirling. A detachment, however, of about 1500 managed to cross the Firth of Forth near North Berwick, and, after an unsuccessful attempt both on

Edinburgh and Leith, to make their way to Kelso, where they joined the southern insurgents, under Kenmure, Derwentwater, and Forster. Having fortified their spirits by issuing a manifesto against the Union, the insurgents decided to march south. It was, for them, a ruinous decision, for they were a small and mixed body; many of the Highlanders had deserted, from reluctance to cross the border; and the Government had raised a considerable force in England out of men who had served abroad. The insurgents managed to reach Preston, in Lancashire, without meeting a hostile force, but at Preston they met the Government army, under Carpenter and Wills, and were heavily defeated in a battle. That disposed of one part of the insurrection.

Meanwhile Mar had determined to move his main force from Perth and seek battle with Argyll at Stirling. The forces came to blows to the northward of Dunblane, on the height of Sheriffmuir which rises above Strathallan. Although the fight was a drawn one Mar's left wing was destroyed, and he thought it well to retreat to Perth. This was in November.

Winter was now coming on, and the movements of the Highlanders became difficult. Inverness was won back for the Government, and the general situation looked altogether hopeless for the insurgents. In December the Pretender landed at Peterhead, proclaimed himself king, and, with much assumption of state, moved southwards to Perth, accompanied by Mar, and took up his quarters at Scone Palace, near the old crowning place of the Scottish kings. A day was even fixed for his coronation, but it soon became plain both to him and his lieutenant that the game was up. When Argyll came to occupy Perth the Pretender and Mar retired north-eastward and quietly escaped to France. By February Argyll was at Aberdeen, and Scotland was wholly at the feet of King George.

The attitude of Scotland was on the whole mild and

conciliatory towards the rebels, and the chief vengeance was left to Parliament and English tribunals in Lancashire and elsewhere. Derwentwater, Nithsdale, and Kenmure were impeached, found guilty, and executed. Much offence was given in Scotland by the removal of many prisoners to Carlisle to be tried under the form of English law.

After "the '15" (as this adventure of James Edward was called) the success of the Union was increasingly obvious. The success was unobtrusive because it was slow, and because there was much friction for a long time. Active Jacobitism went on fitfully and feebly. As long as Orleans held the reins in France the Jacobites could get no help there. In the spring of 1719 two of the family of Keith, one being Earl Marischal of Scotland, induced the Spaniards to land a force on the Scottish coast and support another Jacobite rising. Inverness was to be seized and used as a convenient centre of disaffection. Before the Spaniards got there, however, they encountered a Government force under General Wightman in the Pass of Glenshiel. A battle followed which lasted three hours, and though it had no decisive result the insurgents gave up their enterprise. Wightman took 274 Spanish prisoners to Edinburgh.

The Jacobite ardour was also damped by the dismissal of the Pretender from France to Italy, where he established himself at Albano. There, with none of the reality of power, he kept up a good deal of its outward pomp, and his Scottish lieutenant, Lockhart, the laird of Carnwath, insisted on recognising him as the true king of Scotland, and succeeded in bringing together a group in the Pretender's behalf, who styled themselves mysteriously "the Trustees."

The Scottish Government was carried on vigorously and firmly by the Duke of Argyll. After the suppression of the rebellion of 1715 Argyll was for a time out of favour with the English Government; he was deprived of his offices, and attached himself to the opposition which

gathered round the Prince of Wales. By 1720, however, it was realised how valuable to the Government the services of the Argyll family really were, and thenceforward the duke and his brother Lord Islay were practically Scottish viceroys.

There was a good deal of friction between Scotland and England in connection with the forfeitures of land which followed the rebellion. Those forfeitures were very extensive; and as the forfeited lands were given over into the temporary keeping of commissioners, many of whom were English, and as the proceedings of the commission were carried on under the forms and with the phraseology of English law, the relations of the commissioners with the Court of Session became strained. The commissioners reported that "a body called the Court of Session" hindered them in the discharge of their duties, and the Court of Session rejoined by reminding the Government that the law of Scotland had been preserved to her by the Treaty of Union, and that the appoinment of the Forfeitures Commissioners was an unconstitutional act on the part of the British Parliament. The dispute was settled by compromise. The commissioners went on with their work, but an appeal was allowed to a body of delegates consisting of Scottish judges.

About taxation too there were difficulties. In 1724 an excise duty of 3d. a bushel was laid on malt, and it was provided that if £20,000 were not raised by the tax the deficiency should be made up by the maltsters. To this impost there was much opposition, of which the Jacobites made the most, and there were serious riots in Glasgow and elsewhere. In 1727 the Edinburgh brewers combined against the duty, and threatened to brew no more, but in the end the Government and the Court of Session proved too strong for the malcontents.

The development of smuggling in Scotland was another source of difficulty, which in 1736 grew into those Porteous

Riots in Edinburgh of which we read at the beginning of the *Heart of Midlothian.* The public sympathy with Wilson and Robertson, the smugglers, went so far as to cause the death of Porteous, the representative of the Government's authority. This was so serious an act of defiance that the Government, inspired by Queen Caroline, the consort of George II., proposed to punish Edinburgh by withdrawing its charter and taking away its guard. But to such drastic measures the opposition, both in Scotland and England, was so strong that British justice had to be satisfied with the imposition of a fine and the suppression of the existing provost or chief magistrate of Edinburgh.

Between the two Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745 the Government took several important measures towards making the Highlands and Lowlands alike in civilisation. In 1725 a Disarming Act was passed, under which the Highland clans were ordered to lay down their arms at specified times and places. The act was carried out by General Wade, and was apparently almost wholly successful. What happened afterwards makes it likely that the completeness of the success was only apparent and that many arms must have been kept back and hidden. Again, many roads were made under General Wade's direction by which the Highlands were penetrated and opened up. But the most statesmanlike part of the whole policy was the enlisting of the Highlanders as soldiers on the side of the Government. It was a bold experiment, and it was a great success. It seems a law of human nature that trust begets faithfulness; and it is an equally true, if less flattering, reflection that the fighting instinct may be readily transferred from one side to another in sharpest opposition.

The discontent still felt in parts of the Lowlands as well as in the great towns, and the always imperfect assimilation of the Highlands to the best British ways, led to the outbreak of the last and most dangerous manifestation

of Jacobitism—the rebellion of 1745. Like its predecessor in 1715 the movement just missed getting French support. In 1744 England and France were at war, and as a result of fresh Jacobite plotting on the part of young Charles Edward Stewart, son of the Pretender of 1715, France decided to send ships to help him to land effectually on British soil. The fleet was shattered by a storm, and, just as Mar in 1715 resolved upon an unaided rising when French help failed, so did Charles Edward in 1745.

At this point, however, the likeness between the two rebellions ends. The rising of 1715 had flared up and all but gone out before the Pretender himself came on the scene, and when he did come he showed no magnetism which could put life into his cause. On the other hand, the life and soul and centre of the rising of 1745 from its beginning was Charles Edward himself. He had daring, youth, good looks—qualities which made his name the well-spring of a sentiment which is hardly dried up even now.

Mar had entered Scotland on the east, and had begun his enterprise in Aberdeenshire. Charles Edward landed at Moidart, in the wilds of the Hebrides, with only seven companions, on 2nd August 1745. He at once set himself to do two things—(1) to raise the Highlands; (2) to attack the heart of Scotland by marching straight on the capital. The first he succeeded in doing to a very great extent by the magnetic force of his name and presence; the second he was enabled to do by the incapacity of Sir John Cope, the Government's general, in Scotland. Within a month Charles Edward had secured the allegiance of many powerful chiefs, and had under him about 1600 men. On 29th August he raised his standard.

Cope, who like Argyll in 1715 was posted at Stirling, did not, as Argyll had done, wait there to guard one of the chief approaches to Edinburgh on the one hand, and

two of the chief routes from the Highlands on the other, but removed his force of under 3000 men to Inverness, with the object, probably, of crushing Highland disaffection at its headquarters. There being no obstacle in his way Charles Edward made for Edinburgh, where he was not only not effectively resisted but was almost welcomed.

Then came the scenes of the second half of *Waverley* —the young Pretender's receptions at Holyrood; the passionate hopes of the Celts; the swift disasters that followed. When Cope found out what had happened he left Inverness and went by sea to Dunbar. Meanwhile Charles Edward made good his position in Edinburgh, and the Highlanders kept rallying to his standard. With a wild fighting force of Celts, armed with their deadly claymores, the Pretender left Edinburgh, and on the 21st September encountered Cope's army at Prestonpans, on the south side of the Forth. The battle ended in a decisive victory for Charles Edward and the Highlanders, whose slashing claymores did deadly work. Cope himself fled to the border.

Consider now what was happening in England. England was strangely indifferent to the beginnings of this very serious rising, and her preparations for defence were much less adequate than they had been in 1715, when the danger was much less. When, therefore, Charles Edward in the fulness of his self-confidence after Prestonpans resolved to move on London the resolution, though foolhardy, was not wholly absurd. By the time the insurgents were over the border, however—*i.e.* early in November—England had in some measure awoke to the danger which threatened her. General Wade had 10,000 men at Newcastle-on-Tyne; the Duke of Cumberland had a force in the Midlands; and as the rebels moved south the London train-bands took up a position at Finchley.

Charles Edward's force was under 5000. He marched south by Carlisle and Preston, thus evading Wade at Newcastle. He managed also to evade the Duke of Cumber-

land, and his force reached Derby without harm on 5th December. By this time there was real alarm at the centre of things in England; the ministry and the king were inclined to regard the rebellion as sure of success. Wade and Cumberland were far behind and far apart; if the Pretender overcame the London defences at Finchley the French would cross the channel and occupy London.

At Derby, however, Charles Edward, much against his will, was advised to retreat and make sure of Scotland first. The rebels accordingly marched northwards again, the Duke of Cumberland pursuing. They halted at Glasgow, and then besieged Stirling. An inefficient English officer named Hawley came to relieve Stirling, and Charles Edward moved out and easily overcame him at Falkirk. Then the rebels made for Inverness. But the English were stung by the second Highland victory, and Cumberland followed the Pretender northwards. The armies met at Culloden Moor, near Inverness, on 16th April 1746, and here the rebellion was quenched in blood. The defeat of the Jacobites was complete; the ranks and spirit of the Highlanders were entirely broken; and Charles Edward had to begin his fugitive life at once. In about four months he escaped to France, to live ingloriously and unworthily for the rest of his days.

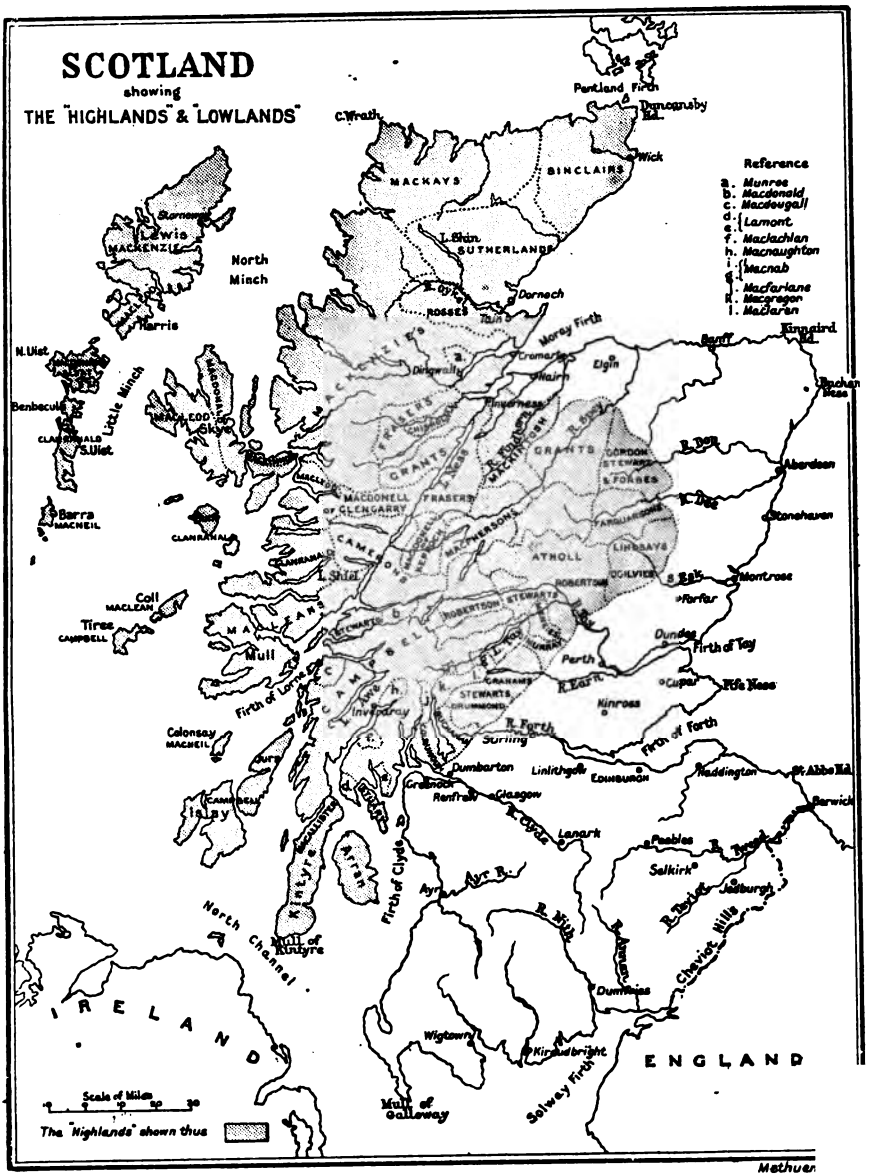
With the suppression of the rebellion of 1745 and the consequences to which it led our task in this book comes to an end. We have only, in conclusion, to mark what those consequences were.

Two things were now thoroughly realised throughout Great Britain—(1) that the Highlands were the hotbed of Jacobite rebellions; (2) that there must be no attempt to force English institutions, as such, on the Scots.

A serious and successful attempt to destroy the separateness of the Highlands was made by the abolition of the independent and hereditary jurisdiction of the chiefs in 1747. If we know the state of things as regards justice when

Henry II. of England began his reign we may understand the effect of these private hereditary jurisdictions in the Scottish Highlands. The Scottish sheriffdoms in the eighteenth century were often hereditary, and there were rights of feudal jurisdiction called Lordships of Regality, which were practically independent states within the state. The Act of 1746 dealt with all these jurisdictions in a very complete manner. The regalities were entirely swept away; the hereditary sheriffdoms were given up to the Crown; and every Scottish county was supplied with a sheriff, appointed, during good conduct, for life. From that time to this the Highlands have given no trouble, nor has Jacobitism been more than a picturesque sentiment.

With the disappearance of these great political dangers and social anomalies, what was best in the Scottish genius —its industry, its capacity for commerce and agriculture, its deep and subtle intelligence—had full play. These things were now fully at the service of England and of the world; while from the south to the north there flowed in exchange all those benefits of which centuries of jealousy and misunderstanding had deprived the poorer land. The turmoil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a precious education for Scotland. She was brought into line with more advanced nations; she achieved, and in some measure she imparted, religious freedom; she learned both how to be faithful to, and how to rid herself of, that royal House which tried her so sorely. But we must surely feel that she first fixed herself firmly on the lines which lead to true success only when she brought herself to accept the Union.


SCOTLAND
showing
THE "HIGHLANDS" & "LOWLANDS"
Reference
a. Munroe
b. Macdonald
c. Macdougall
d. e. Lamont
f. Maclachlan
h. Macnaughton
i. g. Macnab
j. Macfarlane
k. Macgregor
l. Maclaren
Pentland Firth
Duncansby Hd.
C. Wrath
Wick
MACKAYS
SINCLAIRS
Stornoway
Lewis
MACKENZIE
North Minch
L. Shin
SUTHERLANDS
Dornoch
ROSSES
Tain
Harris
Moray Firth
Kinnaird Hd.
Banff
N. Uist
Little Minch
Benbecula
Cromarty
Elgin
Dingwall
Nairn
Inverness
Buchan Ness
MACLEOD
Skye
CLANRANALD
S. Uist
GRANTS
GORDON STEWARTS
S. FORBES
R. Don
Aberdeen
MACDONELL of GLENGARRY
FRASERS
R. Dee
Stonehaven
Barra
MACNEIL
CLANRANALD
MACPHERSONS
ATHOLL
LINDSAYS
CAMERONS
L. Shiel
ROBERTSON
OGILVIES
S. Esk
Montrose
Forfar
Coll
MACLEAN
Tiree
CAMPBELL
MACLEANS
STEWARTS
ROBERTSON
Dundee
Firth of Tay
Mull
Perth
R. Earn
Cupar
Fife Ness
Firth of Lorne
Inverary
STEWARTS
DRUMMOND
Kinross
R. Forth
Firth of Forth
Colonsay
MACNEIL
Jura
Stirling
Dumbarton
Linlithgow
EDINBURGH
Haddington
St. Abbs Hd.
Greenock
Renfrew
Glasgow
Berwick
CAMPBELL
Islay
R. Clyde
Lanark
Peebles
R. Tweed
Selkirk
Jedburgh
Kintyre
Arran
Firth of Clyde
Ayr
Ayr R.
R. Nith
R. Annan
R. Teviot
Cheviot Hills
North Channel
Mull of Kintyre
Dumfries
IRELAND
Wigtown
Kirkcudbright
ENGLAND
Solway Firth
Mull of Galloway
Scale of Miles
The "Highlands" shown thus
Methuen

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